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Original from the Clarendon Press
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VIRGIL
AENEID, BOOKS X-XII

EDITED

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

T. L. PAPILLON, M.A.

FORMERLY FELLOW AND TUTOR OF NEW COLLEGE

AND

A. E. HAIGH, M.A.

LATE FELLOW OF HERTFORD, AND CLASSICAL LECTURER AT CORPUS CHRISTI
AND WADHAM COLLEGES, OXFORD


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PREFACE.

THE text of this edition (as of the former edition published by the Clarendon Press in 1882) is based upon that of Ribbeck with certain modifications, particularly in matters of orthography. No attempt is made to reproduce the variety of spelling found in the best MSS.—e. g. *impius*, *impius*, *navis* (n. plur.) *naves*, *lacruma lacrima*, *volutus vulnus*, *vortex vertex*, *linguunt linguunt lincunt*—a variety which it is hard to believe that Virgil himself would have sanctioned. Where MSS. and inscriptions fluctuate between different forms (e. g. *-es*, *-is*, *-eis*, in nom. plur. of *i*-stems), it seems best for practical purposes to adhere to the normal spelling of the language in its fixed literary form : avoiding on the one hand the ‘conventional’ spelling of the Renaissance Scholars, with barbarisms such as *coelum*, *coena*, *lacryma*, *sylva* due to the false notion that Latin was derived from Greek ; nor claiming, on the other hand, either to reproduce the text exactly as Virgil wrote it or to decide on *a priori* grounds what he ought to have written.

The Commentary has been revised throughout by both Editors, and to a considerable extent re-written, with the object of making it more generally useful to students at the Universities and in the higher forms of schools. The Introduction has been abridged by Mr. Papillon from that of the former edition : most of the discussion upon the history of the

text and upon Latin orthography being omitted as being outside the scope of such an edition as this.

In the preparation of the first edition the books principally used were Professor Conington's standard commentary, completed by Professor Nettleship; the editions of Forbiger, Gossrau, and Kennedy; Professor Nettleship's 'Suggestions Introductory to a Study of the Aeneid,' and Professor Sellar's volume 'On the Roman Poets of the Augustan Age.' In revising the notes the Editors have had the advantage of consulting Mr. Sidgwick's school edition, from which they have derived many valuable suggestions. The original Editor desires also to repeat his special obligation to the Venerable Edwin Palmer, D.D., Archdeacon of Oxford and Canon of Christ Church, formerly Fellow and Tutor of Balliol College; to whose lectures on Virgil he looks back as the foundation and stimulus of any Virgilian learning that he possesses, and by the use of whose MS. notes he was much assisted in compiling the former edition.

T. L. P.

A. E. H.

LIFE AND POEMS OF VIRGIL¹.

1. PUBLIUS VERGILIUS MARO was born Oct. 15th, B.C. 70, at Andes, a 'pagus' or country district near Mantua and the river Mincius, whose green banks and slow windings are recalled with affectionate memory in the Eclogues and Georgics. His parents were of obscure social position: but, like those of Horace, were able to appreciate their son's talent, and give him the best education then obtainable. At twelve years old he was sent to Cremona: and at sixteen, on assuming the 'toga virilis,' went to Mediolanum (Milan) for one year, removing thence to Rome in 53 B.C.; where he studied rhetoric under Epidius, and philosophy under Siron, a celebrated teacher of Epicureanism. In one of the collection of short poems known as 'Catalepton' (*τὰ κατὰ λεπτόν*, 'minor poems') or Catalecta (*καταλεκτά*, 'selections'), perhaps composed during his stay at Rome, Virgil expresses his preference for philosophy over rhetoric:

Ite hinc, inanes, ite, rhetorum ampullae,
Inflata rore non Achaico verba,
Et vos, Stiloque, Tarquitique, Varroque,
Scholasticorum natio
Nos ad beatos vela mittimus portus,
Magni petentes docta dicta Sironis².

Traces of the poet's early taste for philosophy, here first expressed, appear in a few well-known passages of his later poems, e.g. the song of Silenus in Ecl. vi; the references to didactic poetry in G. ii. 477 sqq.; the song of Iopas, Aen. i. 742-6; and the exposition of the 'Anima Mundi,' Aen. vi. 724 sqq.; as also in his admiration for and intimate acquaintance with the writings of Lucretius.

¹ In this edition the English spelling 'Virgil' is retained in preference to the less familiar 'Vergil,' used by some modern editors. The Latin form of the poet's name is 'Vergilius': but the Anglicised form 'Virgil' has (like 'Horace,' 'Livy,' 'Athens' &c.) the sanction of long usage, and is as legitimate for us as 'Virgilio' for Italians, or 'Virgile' for Frenchmen.

² Catal. vii.

2. It is uncertain how long Virgil remained at Rome. His stay there may have been interrupted by the outbreak of the Civil War in 49 B.C.; and he is said (though on no certain authority) to have studied at Neapolis (Naples) under one Parthenius. In B.C. 43 we find him at Mantua, engaged upon the Eclogues. In 41 B.C. he was ejected from his paternal farm by one of the soldiers to whom the Triumvirs Antonius, Octavianus, and Lepidus had assigned grants of land in Cisalpine Gaul. To this trouble Eclogues i and ix refer. Ecl. i speaks of a journey to Rome and restitution of the farm; Ecl. ix only alludes to ejection from it. If therefore Ecl. i is the earlier poem, it is necessary to suppose that he was a second time turned out, and that Ecl. ix refers to this second ejection. But probably Ecl. ix, containing a complaint of injury, was written earlier than Ecl. i, expressing gratitude for the redress of the injury. Ecl. iv and viii are complimentary to Pollio and Gallus, two friends who, holding important offices in the district, had backed the poet's application to Octavianus for the restitution of his farm; and Ecl. vi was perhaps a mark of gratitude to Varus, who had also assisted him. Ecl. v, which alludes to the apotheosis of Julius Caesar, may have been written 43-41 B.C.; and it must be later than Ecl. ii and iii, which are alluded to in it (ll. 86-7). Tradition connects Ecl. ii with Pollio, and Ecl. iii speaks of him (l. 84) as encouraging the poet: and one or both of these poems may have been written in 43 B.C., the year of Pollio's term of office as 'legatus' in Cisalpine Gaul. Ecl. ix (according to the view just given) was written in 41 B.C.; Ecl. i, iv, and perhaps vi, in 40 B.C., after the restitution of Virgil's farm; and Ecl. viii in 39 B.C., the year of Pollio's return in triumph from Illyria; Ecl. x, written about 38-37 B.C. when Agrippa was commanding an expedition across the Rhine into Gaul, being the last of the series. The composition of the Eclogues thus falls between the years 43 and 37 B.C.: their order (excluding Ecl. vii, which gives no indication of date) being presumably ii, iii, v, ix, i, iv, vi, viii, x.

3. In some difficulty connected with his farm, Virgil had been assisted by C. Cilnius Maecenas, the famous patron of his later years, in compliment to whom, and at whose suggestion¹, he

¹ G. iii. 40-1:

*Interea Dryadum silvas saltusque sequamur
Intactos, tua, Maecenas, haud mollia iussa.*

undertook the 'Georgics,' an agricultural poem based on the didactic poetry of Hesiod, Nicander and Aratus, as the Eclogues upon the pastoral poetry of Theocritus. The Georgics were read by Virgil and Maecenas to Augustus on his return from the East in 29 B.C. : and if, as Suetonius tells us, Virgil was engaged upon them for seven years, he began them in 36 B.C., a date intrinsically probable from the completion of the Eclogues in 37 B.C., and incidentally confirmed by the allusion in G. ii. 161 to the Julian harbour constructed in that year. At the end of G. iv Virgil himself states that much of them was written at Naples ; and from G. iii. 10 it has been inferred that he had visited Greece : though the words 'Aonio deducam vertice Musas' need not imply more than 'Ascreaumque cano Romana per oppida carmen' (G. ii. 176)—i.e., the imitation and adaptation of Greek models. The only recorded visit of Virgil to Greece is that at the end of his life : but there is some difficulty in connecting with this the ode (i. 3) in which Horace speaks of the visit of his friend Vergilius to Attica, and an earlier visit is at any rate possible.

4. The remaining ten years of Virgil's life (29-19 B.C.) were devoted to the 'Aeneid,' the most enduring monument not only of his own fame, but of the fortunes of Rome ; the epic of the Roman empire ; the sacred book of the Roman religion, as summed up in the conception of 'Fortuna Urbis,' with its visible embodiment in the person of the Emperor ; the expression of all the varied beliefs of the time—national, religious, historical, mythological ; the 'Gesta Populi Romani,' as some called it on its first appearance. Ten or twelve years before, as we learn from Ecl. vi. 3-5, Virgil had thought of singing 'reges et proelia' ; but the idea of an epic poem did not probably take definite shape in his mind before 29 B.C., in which year he writes (G. iii. 46-48) that he intends to celebrate Caesar's exploits. In the year 26 B.C., Augustus, then absent on a campaign in Spain, wrote to ask for a sight of the first draft of the poem or of selected passages from it : Virgil replied¹ that he had not yet completed anything worthy of his great undertaking or of the Emperor's ears : but three or four years after he consented to read three books (Aen. iv, vi and another) to the Emperor, the date being approximately determined by the death B.C. 23 of the young

¹ The poet's reply, or what purports to be such, is preserved by Macrobius, Sat. i. 24. 11.

Marcellus, to whose memory the famous passage vi. 860-886 was inserted. According to Suetonius, Virgil first drafted the story in prose, and then wrote different parts of it in no certain order, as the fancy took him : the division into twelve books being part of his original plan. Internal evidence bears out this statement : thus e.g. Book ix, where Nisus and Euryalus are introduced as though for the first time, was perhaps written before Book v, where they take a prominent part in the games¹. Books iv and vi, as has been stated, were in a finished state about 23 B.C. Book iii was perhaps written before Book ii, or at any rate before Creusa's prophecy (ii. 775 sqq.) which is unnoticed in Book iii. The poet never lived to carry out his intended revision and correction of the whole epic : and the wonder is not that inconsistencies are found in it, but that the story is, on the whole, so consistently and harmoniously worked out.

5. In the year 19 B.C. Virgil, then in his 51st year, set out to travel in Greece and Asia, intending to devote three years to the completion and correction of the *Aeneid*. At Athens he met Augustus returning from the East and decided to go back with the Emperor to Rome : but was taken ill at Megara and died at Brundisium on Sept. 21st. His ashes were taken to Naples and buried in a tomb on the way to Puteoli, upon which was inscribed the pithy but comprehensive epitaph :

Mantua me genuit, Calabri rapuere, tenet nunc
Parthenope ; cecini pascua, rura, duces.

He is said to have acquired, from imperial and other benefactions, a considerable fortune : half of which he left to his half-brother, a quarter to Augustus, and a twelfth to Maecenas and each of his friends Varius and Tucca. To the two latter, as literary executors, he left all his writings on the understanding that they should publish nothing which he had not already published. Fortunately for literature, they saw that the truest friendship would be shown in disregarding such requests, and proceeded to edit the *Aeneid* with only such corrections as were absolutely necessary, leaving unfinished lines and inconsistencies of detail exactly as they found them. In what they did and in what they left undone, they were faithful to their friend's memory. Nor is the tradition improbable that they acted under the instructions, or at least with the sanction,

¹ *Aen.* ix. 176-181 ; v. 294-361.

of the Emperor himself: for besides the friendly interest which he is known to have taken in Virgil and his work, Augustus was fully capable of discerning the merits of that work and its probable value as a testimony to his own renown. Policy, no less than literary taste, would determine so shrewd a ruler to encourage such 'vates sacri' as Virgil and Horace.

6. The poetical reputation accorded to Virgil was immediate and lasting. The friendly prediction of Propertius written while the *Aeneid* was in progress—

Cedite Romani scriptores, cedite Graii;
Nescio quid maius nascitur Iliade—

hardly outdid the estimate actually formed of it upon its appearance. From all literary circles in Rome, and particularly from poets, Virgil won immediate and unstinting appreciation. Ovid writes of him—

Tityrus et fruges Aeneïaque arma legentur,
Roma triumphati dum caput orbis erit :

and later Roman poets, with the exception perhaps of Lucan, paid him the sincere flattery of undisguised imitation. Juvenal has many references to familiar passages in the *Aeneid*: Martial, among other tributes of admiration, says that Virgil might have surpassed Horace in lyric and Varius in dramatic poetry: and Pliny the younger tells us that among the busts, etc. possessed by the poet Silius Italicus were those—'Vergilii ante omnes, cuius natalem religiosius quam sui celebravit, Neapoli maxime, ubi monumentum eius adire ut templum solebat.' But perhaps the greatest testimonies of literary genius to his influence are the frequent imitation of his style in the language of Tacitus, and the homage paid by Dante, as by a disciple to his master. His writings soon became, and continued into the Middle Ages to be, the great text-book of education: and, together with the events of his life, supplied material for lectures, essays and comments to a long series of grammarians and collectors of literary gossip like Aulus Gellius and Macrobius. His name in due course became the centre of various popular traditions: some of which represented him as an enchanter or magician, others as a Christian teacher. The association of his name with magic powers may have been suggested partly by *Ecl. viii* (*Pharmaceutria*), partly by the account of the

world below in Aen. vi, partly by his mother's name *Magia*: and perhaps led to the peculiar mode of divination known as the '*Sortes Virgilianae*'—i.e., opening the poems at random to find some omen for the future. The other class of traditions originated in the supposed connection of Ecl. iv ('the Messianic Eclogue') with prophecies of Christ, which took a strong hold on the imagination of Christendom, and may have contributed to Dante's selection of Virgil as a guide through the '*Inferno*' and '*Purgatorio*.'

7. For questions affecting the literary criticism of Virgil's poetry, the student is referred to Professor Sellar's volume on '*The Roman Poets of the Augustan Age*,' Professor Nettleship's '*Suggestions Introductory to a Study of the Aeneid*,' and the Introductions in Professor Conington's edition. A word may here be said on two points which are often insisted upon in disparagement of Virgil's fame. Want of originality is the commonest, as it is the easiest, charge. The borrowed element lies upon the surface. The Eclogues reflect, or rather reproduce Theocritus; the Georgics are, as Virgil himself calls them, *Ascraeum carmen*, a reminiscence of Hesiod; and the Aeneid is full of imitations of Homer, which to modern taste seem crude and inartistic. But the ideas of Virgil's own time were different. Imitation of Greek models was characteristic of all Roman literature. And as the only great presentment of heroic times open to Virgil was that of the Homeric poems, it would have seemed impossible for him to cast his epic in any other mould than that of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. 'To reproduce their form in Roman outline, use their details, absorb their spirit, surpass if possible their effect, would be his first and most natural ambition;' as indeed he himself expresses it (G. iii. 10)—

Primus ego in patriam mecum, modo vita supersit,
Aonio rediens deducam vertice Musas.

So Horace lays down his canon of success in poetry—

Vos exemplaria Graeca
Nocturna versate manu, versate diurna :

and estimates in language not unlike Virgil's his own title to poetic fame—

Dicar . . . ex humili potens
Princeps Aeolium carmen ad Italos
Deduxisse modos. (Od. iii. 30. 10.)

We see from Horace that increased familiarity with Greek masterpieces made Roman critics of the Augustan age depreciate their own early literature: and similarly, the great advance of Greek scholarship in modern times has led recent critics to disparage Virgil's claim to rank among the great poets of the world. But the unbroken ascendancy of eighteen centuries, and the unquestioning homage paid by scholars, critics, poets, orators and statesmen to the 'chastest poet and royalest, Virgilius Maro, that to the memory of man is known,' are facts that cannot be gainsaid: and a poet whose genius could absorb the admiration of Dante, and whose influence probably helped more than any other to inform the poetical spirit and verse of Milton, must have had wider and more solid qualities than mere technical skill in versification—something more than the dignity of expression, exquisite rhythm, and delicate tenderness of handling, which all recognise.

8. Virgil has also, in common with Horace, incurred the reproach of undue servility and court-flattery. From a modern point of view, no doubt, the language which each poet uses about Augustus is open to such criticism: but if we go back to the literary conditions and ideas of their time, we see that it expresses a genuine popular sentiment for the Emperor as the visible impersonation and representative of the fortunes of Rome. Feelings of Greek hero-worship, of Eastern monarchical sentiment, and of revived national enthusiasm for the 'Imperium Romanum,' centred in Augustus as the restorer of peace and order after civil war and bloodshed, and as the upholder of the old Roman customs and religion against the threatened inroad of Eastern barbarism with Antony and his 'Aegyptia coniunx.' From this point of view the opening lines of *Georg.* i and iii, and similar passages, however repugnant to modern taste, are neither unnatural nor derogatory to Virgil's poetic fame. Right or wrong, they express the thoughts not of a courtier, but of a nation; and the poet by whom those thoughts are 'married to immortal verse' deserves, if ever poet did, the name of 'national.'

9. The text of Virgil's poems rests upon a greater variety of MSS. than almost any other ancient writings with the exception of the New Testament. The 'uncial' or 'capital' MSS. of the 4th and 5th centuries A.D. are the oldest extant specimens of writing (as distinguished from letters cut on stone), except a few fragments, e.g., of *papyrus* from Herculaneum. And while comparatively few Latin

authors are represented by even one MS. of so early a date, and some of the most important (e.g. Horace, Lucretius, Caesar) by nothing earlier than the 8th or 9th century A.D., of Virgil there are four more or less complete MSS. and three sets of fragments that can be assigned to the 4th and 5th century¹. The four great MSS. are—

1. 'Vatican' (F.), in the Vatican Library at Rome : 4th century : contains portions of G. iii, iv, and Aen. i-viii.

2. 'Medicean' (M.), in the Laurentian Library at Florence : 5th century : contains Ecl. from vi. 48, Georg. and Aen.

3. 'Palatine' (P.), in the Vatican Library at Rome, formerly in the Palatine Library at Heidelberg : 4th century : contains Ecl., Georg. and Aen., with 33 leaves out of 280 wanting.

4. 'Roman' (R.), in the Vatican Library : 4th century : contains Ecl., Georg. and Aen., with 76 leaves out of 309 wanting.

The following are fragments :

5. 'St. Gall Palimpsest' (G.), in the Library of St. Gall (Switzerland) : 4th century : 10 leaves containing portions of G. iv, and Aen. i, iii, iv.

6. 'Verona Palimpsest' (V.), in the Chapter Library at Verona : 4th or 5th century ; 51 leaves containing about 1320 lines.

7. 'Berlin Palimpsest' (A.), 4th century : 7 leaves, partly at Rome, partly at Berlin, containing G. i. 41-280, iii. 181-220.

Besides these leading authorities, there is a great number of later 'cursive' MSS., from the 9th century onwards (the Bodleian Library alone has 45) of little independent value. Incidental testimony to the text of particular passages is given by the remarks of ancient commentators that have been preserved to us, e.g., Donatus (4th century), the teacher of St. Jerome, celebrated for his commentary on Terence and for a hand-book of grammar (*Donati regulae*) widely used in the Middle Ages; and Servius (end of 4th cent.), whose commentary embodies many results of early Virgilian learning. Imitations by later poets (Statius, Silius Italicus, Claudian, etc.) and quotations by writers such as Pliny, Quintilian or Seneca, and

¹ A description of these MSS., with a critical estimate of their relative peculiarities and value, is given in Ribbeck's *Prolegomena*, chs. xi-xiii, pp. 218-320; facsimiles of the writing being appended to the Index. Photographic facsimiles of single leaves may be found in the collection published by the *Palaeographical Society*, and that of Zangemeister and Wattenbach (*Heidelberg*).

lexicographers such as Verrius Flaccus, Aulus Gellius, and Macrobius, sometimes give corroborative evidence to Virgil's meaning and even to his text. But as they may have misunderstood the former and were careless of exactness in the latter, their testimony is of no great value. Since the invention of printing numberless editions of Virgil have appeared, from the 'Editio Princeps' at Rome in 1469: the first English edition (from the press of Wynkin de Worde) bearing date 1512. Of recent commentaries on Virgil, the standard work of Professor Conington, completed by Professor Nettleship, is too well known to require praise: while to the critical edition of Ribbeck, whatever be its faults of over suspiciousness of the received text, and over confidence in the author's own critical sagacity to correct and amend, Virgilian students owe the possession of a more complete 'apparatus criticus' than has hitherto been at their disposal.

THE VIRGILIAN HEXAMETER¹.

1. The Latin Hexameter, first adapted from the Greek by Ennius, and gradually improved by a series of more or less known poets, reached its highest and final perfection with Virgil; all subsequent poets being content to follow as nearly as might be the Virgilian model. The characteristic features of that model are best seen in contrast with the previous efforts of the chief poets that employed this metre—viz. Ennius, Lucretius, and Catullus.

2. The Hexameter is in technical language a 'Dactylic Hexameter Catalectic,' the last foot losing its final syllable: and consists therefore of five dactyls and a trochee (— ∪). Each dactyl

¹ For fuller information on points noticed in this section, the following authorities may be consulted. On the Hexameter of Ennius, Cruttwell, 'Hist. of Roman Literature,' Book I. ch. vi. pp. 71-73; Wordsworth, 'Fragments and Specimens of Early Latin,' Notes, § 5 to ch. iv. pp. 585, 586; on that of Catullus, Ellis, in 'Prolegomena,' pp. xix sqq.; on that of Lucretius, Munro, *Introd. to Notes II.* pp. 102-107 (first ed.); on that of Virgil, Wagner, 'Quaest. Virg.' xi, xii, xiii; Gossrau, 'Excursus de Hexametro Virgili,' pp. 624-646; Nettleship, 'Excursus' to Aen. xii in Conington's edition 'On the Lengthening of Short Final Syllables in Virgil'; Kennedy, Appendix C on 'Virgilian Prosody;' and on the *Latin Hexameter in general*, Public School Latin Grammar, §§ 225, 226.

(— ∪) is equivalent to a spondee (— —), for ∪ = —; and in the first four feet, dactyls and spondees are used indifferently, the former being more numerous in Greek, the latter in Latin. The fifth foot is almost always a dactyl, perhaps to mark clearly the dactylic character of the verse. The last foot may be trochee or spondee, the quantity of the final syllable being indifferent (except where, as in Greek anapaests, the scansion runs on from verse to verse by 'synaphea'): but it is probable that Latin poets, from Ennius downwards, regarded it as a real spondee. The rhythm and harmony of a hexameter verse depend mainly upon 'Caesura'¹, i.e. the coincidence somewhere in the second, third, fourth or fifth feet of the end of a word with the middle of a foot: and the metrical effect of a series of hexameter verses depends on the judicious variation (1) of caesura, (2) of the proportion of dactyls and spondees, (3) of the place in the verse at which the pauses in sense occur, (4) on the cadence of the verse in the last two feet. It is in the care bestowed on these points that Virgil's rhythm is chiefly distinguished from that of Ennius and Lucretius. In the fifth and sixth feet he employs, *as a rule*, only two varieties of rhythm, (1) the fifth foot (dactyl) contained in one word and ending with it—'vōlvērē | Pārcās;' (2) caesura between the short syllables of the dactyl—'saeviquē | dōlōrēs.' All other closing rhythms are with him exceptional, sometimes in imitation of Greek rhythm (e.g. hēmēnēāōs, cypārissis, Lāōdāmīā), sometimes for special effect (e.g. 'quādrūpēdāntūm' Aen. xi. 614, 'pudeāt sōlā neve' G. i. 80, 'procūmbīt hūmī bōs;' or spondaic endings, as 'ābscōndāntūr' G. i. 226, 'purpureō nārcissō' Ecl. v. 38).

3. A purely dactylic line, common enough in Greek (e.g. Iliad i. 13, 25, 31, 32, 34, 54, and so on in like proportion), is comparatively rare in Virgil's epic poetry; such a line as 'Quadrupedante putrem sonitu quatit ungula campum' (Aen. viii. 596, cp. G. iii. 201) being a conscious imitation of the sound of galloping, and its jerky movement being foreign to the stately march of epic rhythm. The greater length of many Greek words, with a greater

¹ Caesura is technically called (a) 'Trihemimeral' (after three ἡμιμέτρεις or half-feet) after 1½ feet; (b) 'Penthemimeral' after 2½ feet; (c) 'Hepthemimeral' after 3½ feet; (d) 'Ennehemimeral' after 4½ feet: e.g.

(a) 'Hinc populum | late | regem | belloque | superbum.'
(b) (c) (d)

The most important caesura is (b), which is sufficient to make a verse monotonous—e.g. 'Illius immensae | ruperunt horrea messes.'

abundance of long compounds, prevented the Homeric hexameter from moving too rapidly or jerkily—e.g. *Iliad* i. 87 *Εὐχόμενος Δαναοῖσι θεοπροπίας ἀναφαίνεις* : but in Virgil the rapid movement is almost always checked and rhythm, as it were, collected and steadied by a spondaic fourth foot—e.g. *Aen.* i. 45 ‘*Turbine corripuit scopuloque infixit acuto.*’ The spondaic fourth foot is indeed specially characteristic of Virgil’s epic rhythm, as the dactylic fourth foot ending a word (‘*Bucolic caesura*’) is of his *Eclogues* in imitation of Theocritus : and wherever, for the sake of variety, the fourth foot is dactylic, one or more of the preceding feet is spondaic to restore the balance. The student can verify this for himself on any page of the *Æneid*.

It thus seems that Virgil, in adapting the Homeric hexameter to the Latin language, realised that its dactylic rhythm must be modified by a large admixture of ‘*spondei stabiles*,’ as Horace calls them (*A. P.* 256). A considerable majority of his verses have at least three spondees (including the last foot); and the proportion of fifteen such lines in *Aen.* i. 1–20 to nine in *Iliad* i. 1–20 may be taken as a rough measure of the extent to which he carried out this modification of Homeric rhythm. A spondee in the first foot, contained in a single word and followed by a pause in sense, is almost the only circumstance under which he seems to shrink from spondaic rhythm in the first four feet : and the somewhat slow and ponderous movement thus given to the verse at starting is reserved, as a rule, for the special expression of solemnity or emotion (see e.g. *Ecl.* v. 21 ; *Aen.* iv. 185, vi. 213).

4. The hexameters of Ennius are a first experiment to reproduce, in a rough unpolished material, the rhythm of Homer. The conditions under which the metre could be adapted to Roman usage had yet to be discovered : *caesura*, *cadence*, *proportion*—all the niceties of rhythm which combine to form the charm of Virgil’s verse—were to him unknown. The rude and tentative imitation of a great model by a vigorous and powerful hand struck out indeed here and there a line which Virgil did not disdain to borrow (e.g. ‘*Tuque pater Tiberine tuo cum flumine sancto*’), or a passage of grave solemnity, as the lament for Romulus—

‘*o Romule, Romule die,*

Qualem te patriae custodem di genuerunt !

O pater o genitor o sanguen dis oriundum,

Tu produxisti nos intra luminis oras’ (*Enn. Ann.* 115–118).

but it also produced much that was harsh and abhorrent to the culture of after years (see Hor. A. P. 258 sqq.), and much that could scarcely be distinguished from prose. But in settling the quantity of Latin words and moulding them into forms suitable for hexameter verse he paved the way for others, and was deservedly revered as the pioneer

‘qui primus amoeno

Detulit ex Helicone perenni fronde coronam’ (Lucr. i. 117).

5. Lucretius marks a great advance upon Ennius, though in some respects his rhythm is (perhaps intentionally) more archaic than that of his contemporary Catullus; whose hexameters, however, with their monotonous cadence (‘*prognatae vertice pinus, Neptuni nasse per undas, Argivae robora pubis*’ lxi. 1, 2, 4), are far less effective. The following points of contrast between the Lucretian and Virgilian hexameter are noted by Munro: (1) the first two feet separated from the rest—‘*Religionibus atque minis, Ergo vivida vis,*’ etc.; such rhythms being rare in Virgil (‘*Armentarius Afer*’ G. iii. 344, ‘*Sed tu desine velle*’ G. iv. 448); (2) in the last two feet, such endings as ‘*principiorum,*’ ‘*materiai,*’ ‘*quandoquidem exstat;*’ (3) elision after the fourth foot—‘*Perdelirum esse videtur, nisi concilio ante coacto;*’ (4) fourth foot wholly contained in a word, and ending with it—‘*quae terras frugiferentes,*’ ‘*tibi suaves daedala tellus*’ (not ‘*terras quae . . . suaves tibi*’), etc.; (5) copious use of alliteration and assonance, occasionally adopted by Virgil under Lucretian influence.

6. The most common ‘licenses’ or metrical irregularities in Virgil are—

(i.) **Lengthening of short final syllables.** This occurs only in *arsi* (i. e. in the emphatic syllable of a foot, upon which the metrical ictus falls), and seldom where there is not a pause or slight break in the sentence: and it is used by him as a purely antiquarian ornament. With Ennius, on the contrary, whom Virgil seems to follow in this licence, the apparent violation of quantity as fixed in Augustan prosody is no ‘licence,’ because the syllables in question were originally long, and were subsequently shortened by a familiar tendency of the Latin language, due mainly to the fact that final syllables were never accented.

(a) Nouns, etc. in ‘-or;’ ‘*Amōr et*’ Ecl. x. 69, ‘*labōr: aequē*’ G. iii. 118, ‘*melīōr insignis*’ G. iv. 92. The corresponding Greek *-ωρ*, and the prosody of oblique cases (‘*amōris,*’ etc.), point to the

original length of this syllable, which is always so in Ennius, even in thesi, i.e. the unemphatic syllable of a foot, e.g.

'Clamōr ad caelum volvendus per aethera vagit' (Ann. 520).

The same applies to 'patēr' (πατήρ) Aen. v. 521: but 'puēr' (Ecl. ix. 66), 'supēr' (Aen. vi. 254), 'ebūr' (Aen. xii. 68), show that Virgil uses the licence as mere matter of form, with no thought of etymology.

(b) Verb terminations in 'r:' 'or' of first pres. pass. is naturally long, and is so used by Ennius and Plautus. Virgil does not follow them in this; but has in 3 sing. 'ingreditūr' (G. iii. 76), 'datūr' (Aen. v. 284), and in 1 plur. 'obruimūr' (Aen. ii. 211), neither of which has any precedent in Ennius.

(c) Noun terminations in '-s;' 'sanguis' always in Lucretius, once only in Virgil (Aen. x. 487): '-ūs' from 'o-' stems (G. iii. 189, Aen. v. 337, etc.) is found also in Ennius, perhaps from imitation of Homeric use in e.g. Iliad i. 244 *χωόμενος, ὄτ' ἀριστον Ἀχαιῶν οὐδὲν ἔτισας*: '-būs' dat. plur. (Aen. iv. 64) has no example in Ennius and few in Plautus.

(d) Verb terminations in '-s:' only 'fatigamus' (Aen. ix. 610), which finds no analogy in Ennius or in the corresponding Greek *-μεν, -μεν*.

(e) Verb-endings in '-t' (3 sing.); 'āt' of pres. ind. 1st conj. generally in Ennius and often in Plautus, never in Virgil; '-āt' of imperf. in Plautus and Ennius even in thesi ('Noenum rumores ponebāt ante salutem' 314); in Virgil only in arsi (Ecl. i. 39, Aen. v. 853, xii. 722, etc.): '-ēt' pres. indic. Aen. i. 308; imp. subj. ib. 651: 'It' pres. indic. 3rd conj. Ecl. vii. 23, Aen. x. 433; 'erit' (fut.) Ecl. iii. 97, Aen. xii. 883: '-it' perf. indic. (as originally) G. ii. 211, Aen. viii. 363.

(f) Miscellaneous: 'procūl' Aen. viii. 98, 'capūt' x. 394.

(g) Vowel-endings: only 'graviā' Aen. iii. 464, 'Getā' (nom. sing.) ib. 702, 'animā' (nom. sing.) xii. 648; and thirteen instances of 'quē' (see on Aen. iii. 464), in imitation of Homeric usage making *τε* long before double consonants, liquids, and sibilants.

[Full lists of examples, from Wagner, 'Quaest. Virg.' xii, are given in Professor Nettleship's 'Excursus' to Aen. xii. (ed. Conington), and Dr. Kennedy's Appendix, C, II. (pp. 622-4, 2nd ed.)]

7. (ii.) *Hiatus*, i.e. non-elision of a vowel or diphthong before a

another vowel or aspirate. This licence appears from a statement of Cicero (Orator 45. 152¹) to have been common with the older Latin poets, and occurs frequently in the dialogue of Plautus and Terence²: but it is used sparingly by later poets. The most common conditions for its admission are (1) after long monosyllables, retaining their quantity in arsi, or shortened in thesi, (e.g. the interjections 'heu!' 'o!' 'spē infmica' Aen. iv. 235, 'te Corydon ð Alexi' Ecl. ii. 85, 'ān qui āmant' viii. 108, 'tē amice' Aen. vi. 507): (2) at the regular caesuras; (3) wherever there is a distinct pause in the sense (e.g. in dialogue, at the change of speaker).

Of the fifty-three examples cited by Wagner (Q. V. xi) from Virgil, forty show the unelided syllable in arsi, and therefore metrically emphatic. Of thirteen examples in thesi, eleven are cases of a long vowel shortened (Ecl. ii. 65, iii. 79, vi. 44, viii. 108; G. i. 281, 332, 437, iv. 461; Aen. iii. 211, v. 261, vi. 507), which thus seems the necessary condition for hiatus in thesi; the remaining two (Ecl. iii. 53, Aen. i. 405) being justified by a distinct pause in the sense. Of the forty examples in arsi, twenty-seven occur at one or other of the two important caesurae, the penthemimeral and hephthemimeral (see above, footnote to § 2): ten of the remainder being at the ennehemimeral caesura (e.g. 'Amphion Dircaeus in Actaeo | Aracyntho' Ecl. ii. 24), in obvious imitation of the frequent Homeric cadence Πηληιάδεω Ἀχιλλῆος (Il. i. 1). Five of these latter, unlike the bulk of Homeric examples, are spondaic endings (Ecl. viii. 53 'castaneae hirsutae,' Aen. iii. 74, vii. 631, ix. 647, xi. 31), due especially to the less dactylic character of the Latin language (see above, § 3); similar endings in Homer being generally quadrisyllabic words (Ἀτρεΐδαι, Πηλεΐωνα, etc.) and never with trisyllabic words embracing hiatus.

¹ Cicero is speaking of the tendency of Roman speech to run together vowels, contrary to Greek practice, which allows hiatus: 'Sed Graeci viderint; nobis ne si cupiamus quidem distrahere voces conceditur. Indicant . . . omnes poëtae praeter eos qui ut versum facerent saepe hiabant, ut Naevius "Vos qui accollitis Histrum flumen, atque algidam . . ." citing also from Ennius and his own poems.

² Ritschl and others, who, by alteration of text, restoration of obsolete final consonants, etc. try to minimise hiatus in the comic writers, allow it in about one out of twenty-two lines in Plautus and one out of sixty-six in Terence. Wagner (Q. V. xi) cites fifty-three examples from Virgil.

8. (iii.) **Hypermetric lines**—i.e. with an additional syllable after the final trochee or spondee; this syllable being always one that may be elided, while the next line must begin with a vowel or aspirate. This licence (resting apparently on a false assumption that the scansion of hexameter verses is continuous, as in Greek anapaests, and that the sixth foot is complete, i.e. a real spondee) was unknown to Homer; *οὐκ οἶδ'* at the close of a line of Callimachus being the only known instance in Greek hexameters. Lucretius employs it once (v. 849), Catullus rarely, in lyric metre—e.g. lxi. 147 (Glyconic), and perhaps xi. 19 (Sapphic)—but there 'omniūm' may be dissyllable by synizesis, as 'precantia' Aen. vii. 237 (cp. 'ōmnīā' vi. 33). It is found in an iambic line of Pacuvius preserved by Cicero, Tusc. iii. 12. 26; and occasionally in Terence—e.g. Phorm. ii. 1. 63; Ad. ii. 2. 9, iii. 3. 21 (iambic); And. iv. 1. 9 (cretic); Eun. iv. 1. 11 (trochaic). Wagner on G. ii. 69 hardly proves its use by Ennius: nor do Greek dramatists use it, as he says, 'infinitis locis.' By whomever introduced into Latin hexameters it is a purely artificial licence, and as such is used by Virgil. In eighteen out of twenty-two instances in his poems, the hypermetric syllable is 'que;' in G. i. 295 he has 'decoquit umor|em,' and in Aen. vii. 160 'tectā Latino|rum.' In all these twenty examples the preceding syllable is long, making the last foot a spondee: but in G. ii. 69, iii. 449, we have, if MSS. are to be trusted, hypermetric syllables preceded by trochees (see note to G. ii. 69).

9. Like all great masters of poetic rhythm, Virgil shows his power in the accommodation of sound to sense. Familiar examples of single lines are Aen. v. 481 (the sudden collapse of a stricken ox), viii. 452 (the steady swing of the Cyclops' hammers), viii. 596 (the sound of galloping horses): but the poet's art is also shown in passages of varied length, from the two lines expressive of the 'moping owl's' complaint (Aen. iv. 462, 463), to the fine description of a storm in G. i. 316–334 (see especially 328–334). Among innumerable examples the following are noticeable: of single lines, G. ii. 441 (gusts of wind assailing a tree), iii. 201 (the swift rush of the wind as of a horse let loose); of longer passages, G. i. 108–110 (sudden irrigation), Aen. x. 101–104 (the hush of all Nature at Jupiter's word), ib. 821–824 (the revulsion of feeling over a fallen foe), xii. 951, 952, (the creeping chill of death followed by the quick flight to Hades of the indignant soul). Every reader who

can appreciate poetic rhythm will find others for himself. The greatness of Virgil's rhythm, its undefinable charm and pathos, its power to touch the hidden chords of human feeling, are beyond dispute ; and though familiar association with particular lines and passages may invest them with the expression of more than the poet's thought, such capacity of adaptation to new feelings is one more testimony to their inherent poetry.

AENEIS.

LIBER DECIMUS.

PANDITUR interea domus omnipotentis Olympi,
conciliumque vocat divum pater atque hominum rex
sideream in sedem, terras unde arduus omnes
castraque Dardanidum aspectat populosque Latinos.

Considunt tectis bipatentibus. Incipit ipse :

5

‘Caelicolae magni, quianam sententia vobis
versa retro tantumque animis certatis iniquis?
Abnueram bello Italiam concurrere Teucris.

Quae contra vetitum discordia? quis metus aut hos
aut hos arma sequi ferrumque lacessere suasit?

10

Adveniet iustum pugnae (ne arcessite) tempus,
cum fera Carthago Romanis arcibus olim
exitium magnum atque Alpes immittet apertas :
tum certare odiis, tum res rapuisse licebit.

Nunc sinite, et placitum laeti componite foedus.’

15

Iuppiter haec paucis; at non Venus aurea contra
pauca refert:

‘O Pater, o hominum rerumque aeterna potestas
(namque aliud quid sit, quod iam implorare queamus?),
cernis ut insultent Rutuli, Turnusque feratur

20

per medios insignis equis tumidusque secundo
Marte ruat? non clausa tegunt iam moenia Teucros :
quin intra portas atque ipsis proelia miscent

aggeribus murorum, et inundant sanguine fossas.
Aeneas ignarus abest. Numquamne levare

25

obsidione sines? muris iterum imminet hostis
nascentis Troiae, nec non exercitus alter,
atque iterum in Teucros Aetolis surgit ab Arpis

4

Tydides. Equidem credo, mea vulnera restant,
 et tua progenies mortalia demoror arma. 30
 Si sine pace tua atque invito numine Troes
 Italiam petiere, luant peccata neque illos
 iuveris auxilio; sin tot responsa secuti,
 quae Superi Manesque dabant, cur nunc tua quisquam
 vertere iussa potest aut cur nova condere fata? 35
 quid repetam exustas Erycino in litore classes,
 quid tempestatum regem, ventosque furentes
 Aeolia excitos, aut actam nubibus Irim?
 nunc etiam Manes (haec intemptata manebat
 sors rerum) movet; et superis immissa repente 40
 Allecto medias Italum bacchata per urbes.
 Nil super imperio moveor: speravimus ista,
 dum fortuna fuit; vincant quos vincere mavis.
 Si nulla est regio, Teucris quam det tua coniunx
 dura, per eversae, Genitor, fumantia Troiae 45
 excidia obtestor, liceat dimittere ab armis
 incolumem Ascanium, liceat superesse nepotem.
 Aeneas sane ignotis iactetur in undis
 et, quamcumque viam dederit Fortuna, sequatur:
 hunc tegere et dirae valeam subducere pugnae. 50
 Est Amathus, est celsa mihi Paphus atque Cythera
 Idaliaeque domus: positis inglorius armis
 exigat hic aevum. Magna ditione iubeto
 Carthago premat Ausoniam: nihil urbibus inde
 obstabit Tyriis. Quid pestem evadere belli 55
 iuvat et Argolicos medium fugisse per ignes,
 totque maris vastaeque exhausta pericula terrae,
 dum Latium Teucris recidivaque Pergama quaerunt?
 Non satius cineres patriae insedissem supremos
 atque solum, quo Troia fuit? Xanthum et Simoenta 60
 redde, oro, miseris iterumque revolvere casus
 da, pater, Iliacos Teucris. Tum regia Iuno
 acta furore gravi: 'Quid me alta silentia cogis
 rumpere et obductum verbis vulgare dolorem?
 Aenean hominum quisquam divumque subegit 65
 bella sequi, aut hostem regi se inferre Latino?
Italiam petiit fatis auctoribus: esto:

Cassandrae impulsus furiis: num linquere castra
 hortati sumus aut vitam committere ventis,
 num puero summam belli, num credere muros, 70
 Tyrrhenamque fidem aut gentes agitare quietas?
 Quis deus in fraudem, quae dura potentia nostra
 egit? Ubi hic Iuno, demissave nubibus Iris?
 Indignum est Italos Troiam circumdare flammis
 nascentem, et patria Turnum consistere terra, 75
 cui Pilumnus avus, cui diva Venilia mater:
 quid face Troianos atra vim ferre Latinis,
 arva aliena iugo premere atque avertere praedas?
 Quid soceros legere et gremiis abducere pactas,
 pacem orare manu, praefigere puppibus arma? 80
 Tu potes Aenean manibus subducere Graium,
 proque viro nebulam et ventos obtendere inanes,
 tu potes in totidem classem convertere Nymphas:
 nos aliquid Rutulos contra iuvisse nefandum est?
 Aeneas ignarus abest: ignarus et absit. 85
 Est Paphus Idaliumque tibi, sunt alta Cythera:
 quid gravidam bellis urbem et corda aspera temptas?
 Nosne tibi fluxas Phrygiae res vertere fundo
 conamur? nos, an miseros qui Troas Achivis
 obiecit? quae causa fuit, consurgere in arma 90
 Europamque Asiamque et foedera solvere furto?
 me duce Dardanius Spartam expugnavit adulter,
 aut ego tela dedi fovive Cupidine bella?
 Tum decuit metuisse tuis: nunc sera querellis
 haud iustis assurgis et irrita iurgia iactas.' 95

Talibus orabat Iuno, cunctique fremebant
 caelicolae assensu vario, ceu flamina prima
 cum deprensa fremunt silvis et caeca volutant
 murmura, venturos nautis prodentia ventos.
 Tum Pater omnipotens, rerum cui prima potestas, 100
 infit; eo dicente deum domus alta silescit,
 et tremefacta solo tellus, silet arduus aether;
 tum zephyri posuere, premit placida aequora pontus.
 'Accipite ergo animis atque haec mea figite dicta.
 Quandoquidem Ausonios coniungi foedere Teucris 105
 haud licitum, nec vestra capit discordia finem:

quae cuique est fortuna hodie, quam quisque secat spem,
 Tros Rutulusve fuat, nullo discrimine habeo,
 seu fatis Italum castra obsidione tenentur,
 sive errore malo Troiae monitisque sinistris. 110
 Nec Rutulos solvo : sua cuique exorsa laborem
 fortunamque ferent. Rex Iuppiter omnibus idem.
 Fata viam invenient.' Stygii per flumina fratris,
 per pice torrentes atraque voragine ripas
 annuit, et totum nutu tremefecit Olympum. 115
 Hic finis fandī. Solio tum Iuppiter aureo
 surgit, caelicolae medium quem ad limina ducunt.
 Interea Rutuli portis circum omnibus instant
 sternere caede viros et moenia cingere flammis.
 At legio Aeneadum vallis obsessa tenetur, 120
 nec spes ulla fugae. Miseri stant turribus altis
 nequiquam, et rara muros cinxere corona;
 Asius Imbrasides Hicetaoniusque Thymoetes
 Assaracique duo et senior cum Castore Thymbris,
 prima acies; hos germani Sarpedonis ambo, 125
 et Clarus et Thaemon Lycia comitantur ab alta.
 Fert ingens toto conixus corpore saxum,
 haud partem exiguum montis, Lyrnesius Acmon,
 nec Clytio genitore minor nec fratre Menestheo.
 Hi iaculis, illi certant defendere saxis, 130
 molirique ignem nervoque aptare sagittas.
 Ipse inter medios, Veneris iustissima cura,
 Dardanius caput ecce puer detectus honestum,
 qualis gemma micat, fulvum quae dividit aurum,
 aut collo decus aut capiti; vel quale per artem 135
 inclusum buxo aut Oricia terebintho
 lucet ebur; fusos cervix cui lactea crines
 accipit et molli subnectens circulus auro.
 Te quoque magnanimae viderunt, Ismare, gentes
 vulnera dirigere et calamos armare veneno, 140
 Maeonia generose domo, ubi pingua culta
 exercentque viri Pactolusque irrigat auro.
 Affuit et Mnestheus, quem pulsī pristina Turni
 aggere murorum sublimem gloria tollit,
 et Capys: hinc nomen Campanae ducitur urbi. 145

Illi inter sese duri certamina belli
 contulerant: media Aeneas freta nocte secabat.
 Namque ut ab Evandro castris ingressus Etruscis,
 regem adit et regi memorat nomenque genusque,
 quidve petat quidve ipse ferat, Mezentius arma 150
 quae sibi conciliet, violentaque pectora Turni
 edocet, humanis quae sit fiducia rebus
 admonet immiscetque preces: haud fit mora, Tarchon
 iungit opes foedusque ferit; tum libera fati
 classem conscendit iussis gens Lydia divum, 155
 externo commissa duci. Aeneia puppis
 prima tenet, rostro Phrygios subiuncta leones,
 imminet Ida super, profugis gratissima Teucris.
 Hic magnus sedet Aeneas secumque volutat
 eventus belli varios, Pallasque sinistro 160
 affixus lateri iam quaerit sidera, opacae
 noctis iter, iam quae passus terraque marique.
 Pandite nunc Helicon, deae, cantusque movete,
 quae manus interea Tuscis comitetur ab oris
 Aenean, armetque rates pelagoque vehatur. 165
 Massicus aerata princeps secat aequora Tigri:
 sub quo mille manus iuvenum, qui moenia Clusi
 quique urbem liquere Cosas, quis tela sagittae
 gorytique leves umeris et letifer arcus.
 Una torvus Abas: huic totum insignibus armis 170
 agmen et aurato fulgebat Apolline puppis.
 Sexcentos illi dederat Populonia mater
 expertos belli iuvenes, ast Ilva trecentos
 insula inexhaustis Chalybum generosa metallis.
 Tertius ille hominum divumque interpret Asilas, 175
 cui pecudum fibrae, caeli cui sidera parent,
 et linguae volucrum et praesagi fulminis ignes,
 mille rapit densos acie atque horrentibus hastis.
 Hos parere iubent Alpheae ab origine Pisae,
 urbs Etrusca solo. Sequitur pulcherrimus Astur, 180
 Astur equo fidens et versicoloribus armis.
 Tercentum adiiciunt (mens omnibus una sequendi)
 qui Caerete domo, qui sunt Minionis in arvis,
 et *Pyrgi* veteres intempestaeque Graviscae.

Non ego te, Ligurum ductor fortissime bello, 185
transierim, Cinyre, et paucis comitate Cupavo,
cuius olorinae surgunt de vertice pennae,
crimen amor vestrum formaeque insigne paternae.
Namque ferunt luctu Cycnum Phaethontis amati,
populeas inter frondes umbramque sororum 190
dum canit et maestum Musa solatur amorem,
canentem molli pluma duxisse senectam,
linquentem terras et sidera voce sequentem.
Filius, aequales comitatus classe catervas,
ingentem remis Centaurum promovet: ille 195
instat aquae, saxumque undis immane minatur
arduus, et longa sulcat maria alta carina.

Ille etiam patriis agmen ciet Ocnus ab oris,
fatidicae Mantus et Tusci filius amnis,
qui muros matrisque dedit tibi, Mantua, nomen, 200
Mantua, dives avis: sed non genus omnibus unum:
gens illi triplex, populi sub gente quaterni,
ipsa caput populis, Tusco de sanguine vires.
Hinc quoque quingentos in se Mezentius armat,
quos patre Benaco velatus harundine glauca 205
Mincius infesta ducebat in aequora pinu.
It gravis Aulestes centenaque arbore fluctum
verberat assurgens, spumant vada marmore verso.
Hunc vehit immanis Triton et caerula concha
exterrens freta, cui laterum tenuis hispida nanti 210
frons hominem praefert, in pristim desinit alvus:
spumea semifero sub pectore murmurat unda.

Tot lecti proceres ter denis navibus ibant
subsidio Troiae et campos salis aere secabant.

Iamque dies caelo concesserat almaque curru 215
noctivago Phoebe medium pulsabat Olympum:
Aeneas (neque enim membris dat cura quietem)
ipse sedens clavumque regit velisque ministrat.
Atque illi medio in spatio chorus ecce suarum
occurrit comitum: Nymphae, quas alma Cybebe 220
numen habere maris Nymphasque e navibus esse
iusserat, innabant pariter fluctusque secabant,
praeus aeratae steterant ad litora prorae.

Agnoscunt longe regem lustrantque choreis.
 Quarum quae fandi doctissima Cymodocea 225
 pone sequens dextra puppim tenet, ipsaque dorso
 eminet, ac laeva tacitis subremigat undis,
 tum sic ignarum alloquitur: 'Vigilasne, deum gens,
 Aenea? vigila et velis immitte rudentes.
 Nos sumus Idaeae sacro de vertice pinus, 230
 nunc pelagi Nymphae, classis tua. Perfidus ut nos
 praecipites ferro Rutulus flammaque premebat,
 rupimus invitae tua vincula teque per aequor
 quaerimus. Hanc Genetrix faciem miserata refecit,
 et dedit esse deas aevumque agitare sub undis. 235
 At puer Ascanius muro fossisque tenetur
 tela inter media atque horrentes Marte Latinos.
 Iam loca iussa tenet forti permixtus Etrusco
 Arcas eques: medias illis opponere turmas,
 ne castris iungant, certa est sententia Turno. 240
 Surge age et Aurora socios veniente vocari
 primus in arma iube et clipeum cape, quem dedit ipse
 invictum Ignipotens atque oras ambiit auro.
 Crastina lux, mea si non irrita dicta putaris,
 ingentes Rutulae spectabit caedis acervos.' 245
 Dixerat, et dextra discedens impulit altam
 haud ignara modi puppim: fugit illa per undas
 ocior et iaculo et ventos aequante sagitta.
 Inde aliae celerant cursus. Stupet inscius ipse
 Tros Anchisiades; animos tamen omine tollit. 250
 Tum breviter supera aspectans convexa precatur:
 'Alma parens Idaea deum, cui Dindyma cordi
 turrigeraeque urbes biuigique ad frena leones,
 tu mihi nunc pugnae princeps, tu rite propinques
 augurium Phrygibusque adsis pede, diva, secundo.' 255
 Tantum effatus. Et interea revoluta ruebat
 matura iam luce dies noctemque fugarat:
 principio sociis edicit, signa sequantur
 atque animos aptent armis pugnaeque parent se.
 Iamque in conspectu Teucros habet et sua castra, 260
 stans celsa in puppi, clipeum cum deinde sinistra
 extulit ardentem. Clamorem ad sidera tollunt

Dardanidae e muris, spes addita suscitāt iras,
tela manu iaciunt: quales sub nubibus atris
Strymoniae dant signa grues, atque aethera tranant 265
cum sonitu, fugiuntque notos clamore secundo.

At Rutulo regi ducibusque ea mira videri
Ausoniis, donec versas ad litora puppes
respiciunt, totumque allabi classibus aequor.

Ardet apex capiti, cristisque a vertice flamma 270
funditur, et vastos umbo vomit aureus ignes:
non secus ac liquida si quando nocte cometae
sanguinei lugubre rubent, aut Sirius ardor,
ille sitim morbosque ferens mortalibus aegris,
nascitur et laevo contristat lumine caelum. 275

Haud tamen audaci Turno fiducia cessit
litora praecipere et venientes pellere terra.
[Ultero animos tollit dictis atque increpat ultro:]
'Quod votis optastis, adest, perfringere dextra:
in manibus Mars ipse, viri. Nunc coniugis esto 280
quisque suae tectique memor, nunc magna referto
facta, patrum laudes. Ultero occurramus ad undam,
dum trepidi, egressisque labant vestigia prima.
audentes Fortuna iuvat.'

Haec ait, et secum versat, quos ducere contra 285
vel quibus obsessos possit concredere muros.

Interea Aeneas socios de puppibus altis
pontibus exponit. Multi servare recursus
languentis pelagi et brevibus se credere saltu,
per remos alii. Speculatus litora Tarchon, 290
qua vada non spirant nec fracta remurmurat unda,
sed mare inoffensum crescenti allabatur aestu,
advertit subito proram sociosque precatur:
'Nunc, o lecta manus, validis incumbite remis;
tollite, ferte rates; inimicam findite rostris 295
hanc terram, sulcumque sibi premat ipsa carina.
Frangere nec tali puppim statione recuso
arrepta tellure semel.' Quae talia postquam
effatus Tarchon, socii consurgere tonsis

spumantesque rates arvis inferre Latinis, 300
donec rostra tenent siccum, et sedere carinae

omnes innocuae, sed non puppis tua, Tarchon.
 Namque inflicta vadis dorso dum pendet iniquo,
 anceps sustentata diu, fluctusque fatigat,
 solvitur atque viros mediis exponit in undis; 305
 fragmina remorum quos et fluitantia transtra
 impediunt, retrahitque pedem simul unda relabens.

Nec Turnum segnis retinet mora, sed rapit acer
 totam aciem in Teucros et contra in litore sistit.
 Signa canunt. Primus turmas invasit agrestes 310
 Aeneas, omen pugnae, stravitque Latinos
 occiso Therone, virum qui maximus ultro
 Aenean petit: huic gladio perque aerea suta,
 per tunicam squalentem auro latus haurit apertum.
 Inde Lichan ferit, exsectum iam matre perempta 315
 et tibi, Phoebe, sacrum, casus evadere ferri
 quod licuit parvo. Nec longe Cissea durum
 immanemque Gyan, sternentes agmina clava,
 deiecit leto: nihil illos Herculis arma

nec validae iuvere manus genitorque Melampus, 320
 Alcidae comes usque graves dum terra labores
 prae-buit. Ecce Pharo, voces dum iactat inertes,
 intorquens iaculum clamanti sistit in ore.

Tu quoque, flaventem prima lanugine malas
 dum sequeris Clytium infelix, nova gaudia, Cydon, 325
 Dardania stratus dextra, securus amorum,
 qui iuvenum tibi semper erant, miserande iaceres,

ni fratrum stipata cohors foret obvia, Phorci
 progenies—septem numero, septenaque tela
 coniiciunt; partim galea clipeoque resultant 330
 irrita, deflexit partim stringentia corpus
 alma Venus. Fidum Aeneas affatur Achaten:

‘Suggere tela mihi: non ullum dextera frustra
 torserit in Rutulos, steterunt quae in corpore Graium
 Iliacis campis.’ Tum magnam corripit hastam 335
 et iacit: illa volans clipei transverberat aera
 Maeonis et thoraca simul cum pectore rumpit.
 Huic frater subit Alcanor, fratremque ruentem
 sustentat dextra: traiecto missa lacerto

protinus hasta fugit servatque cruenta tenorem,

dexteraque ex umero nervis moribunda pendit.
 Tum Numitor iaculo fratris de corpore raptō
 Aenean petiit: sed non et figere contra
 est licitum, magnique femur perstrinxit Achatae.
 Hic Curibus fidens primaevō corpore Clausus 345
 advenit, et rigida Dryopem ferit eminus hasta
 sub mentum graviter pressa, pariterque loquentis
 vocem animamque rapit traiecto gutture; at ille
 fronte ferit terram et crassum vomit ore cruorem.
 Tres quoque Threicios Boreae de gente suprema, 350
 et tres, quos Idas pater et patria Ismara mittit,
 per varios sternit casus. Accurrit Halaesus
 Auruncaequē manus, subit et Neptunia proles,
 insignis Messapus equis. Expellere tendunt
 nunc hi, nunc illi; certatur limine in ipso 355
 Ausoniae. Magno discordes aethere venti
 proelia ceu tollunt animis et viribus aequis;
 non ipsi inter se, non nubila, non mare cedit;
 anceps pugna diu, stant obnixa omnia contra:
 haud aliter Troianae acies aciesque Latinae 360
 concurrunt: haeret pede pes densusque viro vir.

At parte ex alia, qua saxa rotantia late
 impulerat torrens arbustaque diruta ripis,
 Arcadas insuetos acies inferre pedestres
 ut vidit Pallas Latio dare terga sequaci— 365
 aspera quis natura loci dimittere quando
 suasit equos—unum quod rebus restat egenis,
 nunc prece, nunc dictis virtutem accendit amaris:
 'Quo fugitis, socii? per vos et fortia facta,
 per ducis Evandri nomen devictaque bella 370
 spemque meam, patriae quae nunc subit aemula laudi,
 fidite ne pedibus. Ferro rumpenda per hostes
 est via. Qua globus ille virum densissimus urget,
 hac vos et Pallanta ducem patria alta reposcit.
 Numina nulla premunt, mortali urgemur ab hoste 375
 mortales, totidem nobis animaeque manusque.
 Ecce, maris magna claudit nos obiice pontus,
 Deest iam terra fugae: pelagus Troiamne petemus?
 Haec ait et medius densos prorumpit in hostes.

Obvius huic primum, fatis adductus iniquis, 380
 fit Lagus. Hunc, magno vellit dum pondere saxum,
 intorto figit telo, discrimina costis
 per medium qua spina dabat, hastamque recepat
 ossibus haerentem. Quem non super occupat Hisbo, 385
 ille quidem hoc sperans: nam Pallas ante ruentem,
 dum furit, incautum crudeli morte sodalis
 excipit atque ensem tumido in pulmone recondit.
 Hinc Sthenium petit et Rhoeti de gente vetusta
 Anchemolum, thalamos ausum incestare novercae.
 Vos etiam, gemini, Rutulis cecidistis in agris, 390
 Daucia, Laride Thymerque, simillima proles,
 indiscreta suis gratusque parentibus error;
 at nunc dura dedit vobis discrimina Pallas:
 nam tibi, Thymbre, caput Evandrius abstulit ensis;
 te decisa suum, Laride, dextera quaerit, 395
 semianimesque micant digiti ferrumque retractant.
 Arcadas accensos monitu et praeclara tuentes
 facta viri mixtus dolor et pudor armat in hostes.
 Tum Pallas biugis fugientem Rhoetea praeter
 traicit. Hoc spatium tantumque morae fuit Ilo; 400
 Ilo namque procul validam direxerat hastam,
 quam medius Rhoeteus intercipit, optime Teuthra,
 te fugiens fratremque Tyren, curruque volutus
 caedit semianimis Rutulorum calcibus arva.
 Ac velut optato ventis aestate coortis 405
 dispersa immittit silvis incendia pastor;
 correptis subito mediis extenditur una
 horrida per latos acies Vulcania campos;
 ille sedens victor flammam despectat ovantes:
 non aliter socium virtus coit omnis in unum 410
 teque iuvat, Palla. Sed bellis acer Halaesus
 tendit in adversos seque in sua colligit arma.
 Hic mactat Ladona Pheretaque Demodocumque,
 Strymonio dextram fulgenti deripit ense
 elatam in iugulum, saxo ferit ora Thoantis 415
 ossaque dispersit cerebro permixta cruento.
 Fata canens silvis genitor celarat Halaesum:
 ut senior leto canentia lumina solvit,

iniecere manum Parcae telisque sacrarunt
 Evandri. Quem sic Pallas petit ante precatus : 420
 ‘Da nunc, Thybri pater, ferro, quod missile libro,
 fortunam atque viam duri per pectus Halaesi.
 Haec arma exuviasque viri tua quercus habebit.’
 Audiit illa deus: dum textit Imaona Halaesus,
 Arcadio infelix telo dat pectus inermum. 425
 At non caede viri tanta perterrita Lausus,
 pars ingens belli, sinit agmina: primus Abantem
 oppositum interemit, pugnae nodumque moramque.
 Sternitur Arcadiae proles, sternuntur Etrusci,
 et vos, o Graiis imperdita corpora, Teucri. 430
 Agmina concurrunt ducibusque et viribus aequis.
 Extremi addensent acies nec turba moveri
 tela manusque sinit. Hinc Pallas instat et urget,
 hinc contra Lausus, nec multum discrepat aetas:
 egregii forma, sed quis Fortuna negarat 435
 in patriam reditus. Ipsos concurrere passus
 haud tamen inter se magni regnator Olympi:
 mox illos sua fata manent maiore sub hoste.
 Interea soror alma monet succedere Lauso
 Turnum, qui volucris curru medium secat agmen. 440
 Ut vidit socios, ‘Tempus desistere pugnae;
 solus ego in Pallanta feror, soli mihi Pallas
 debetur; cuperem ipse parens spectator adesset.’
 haec ait, et socii cesserunt aequore iusso.
 At Rutulum abscessu iuvenis tum iussa superba 445
 miratus stupet in Turno, corpusque per ingens
 lumina volvit obitque truci procul omnia visu,
 talibus et dictis it contra dicta tyranni:
 ‘Aut spoliis ego iam raptis laudabor opimis
 aut leto insigni: sorti pater aequus utrique est. 450
 Tolle minas.’ Fatus medium procedit in aequor.
 Frigidus Arcadibus coit in praecordia sanguis.
 Desiluit Turnus biugis, pedes apparat ire
 comminus; utque leo, specula cum vidit ab alta
 stare procul campis meditantem in proelia taurum, 455
advolat: haud alia est Turni venientis imago.
Hunc ubi contiguum missae fore credidit hastae,

ire prior Pallas, si qua fors adiuvet ausum
 viribus imparibus, magnumque ita ad aethera fatur:
 'Per patris hospitium et mensas, quas advena adisti, 460
 te precor, Alcide, coeptis ingentibus adsis.
 Cernat semineci sibi me rapere arma cruenta,
 victoremque ferant morientia lumina Turni.'
 Audiit Alcides iuvenem, magnumque sub imo
 corde premit gemitum lacrimasque effundit inanes. 465
 Tum genitor natum dictis affatur amicis:
 'Stat sua cuique dies, breve et irreparabile tempus
 omnibus est vitae: sed famam extendere factis,
 hoc virtutis opus. Troiae sub moenibus altis
 tot nati cecidere deum; quin occidit una 470
 Sarpedon, mea progenies. Etiam sua Turnum
 fata vocant, metasque dati pervenit ad aevi.'
 Sic ait atque oculos Rutulorum reiicit arvis.
 At Pallas magnis emittit viribus hastam,
 vaginaque cava fulgentem deripit ensem. 475
 Illa volans umeri surgunt qua tegmina summa
 incidit, atque viam clipei molita per oras
 tandem etiam magno strinxit de corpore Turni.
 Hic Turnus ferro praefixum robur acuto
 in Pallanta diu librans iacit atque ita fatur: 480
 'Aspice, num mage sit nostrum penetrabile telum.'
 Dixerat; at clipeum, tot ferri terga, tot aeris,
 quem pellis totiens obeat circumdata tauri,
 vibranti cuspis medium transverberat ictu,
 loricaeque moras et pectus perforat ingens. 485
 Ille rapit calidum frustra de vulnere telum:
 una eademque via sanguis animusque sequuntur.
 Corruit in vulnus; sonitum super arma dedere;
 et terram hostilem moriens petit ore cruento.
 Quem Turnus super assistens: 490
 'Arcades, haec' inquit 'memores mea dicta referte
 Evandro: qualem meruit, Pallanta remitto.
 Quisquis honos tumuli, quidquid solamen humandi est,
 largior. Haud illi stabunt Aeneia parvo
 hospitia.' Et laevo pressit pede talia fatus 495
exanimem, rapiens immania pondera baltei

impressumque nefas: una sub nocte iugali
 caesa manus iuvenum foede thalamique cruenti,
 quae Clonus Eurytides multo caelaverat auro;
 quo nunc Turnus ovat spolio gaudetque potitus. 500
 Nescia mens hominum fati sortisque futurae
 et servare modum, rebus sublata secundis!
 Turno tempus erit, magno cum optaverit emptum
 intactum Pallanta et cum spolia ista diemque
 oderit. At socii multo gemitu lacrimisque 505
 impositum scuto referunt Pallanta frequentes:
 'O dolor atque decus magnum rediture parenti,
 haec te prima dies bello dedit, haec eadem aufert,
 cum tamen ingentes Rutulorum linquis acervos.'
 Nec iam fama mali tanti, sed certior auctor 510
 advolat Aeneae, tenui discrimine leti
 esse suos, versis tempus succurrere Teucris.
 Proxima quaeque metit gladio, latumque per agmen
 ardens limitem agit ferro, te, Turne, superbum
 caede nova quaerens. Pallas, Evander, in ipsis 515
 omnia sunt oculis, mensae, quas advena primas
 tunc adiit, dextraeque datae. Sulmone creatos
 quattuor hic iuvenes, totidem, quos educat Ufens,
 viventes rapit, inferias quos immolet umbris,
 captivoque rogi perfundat sanguine flammās. 520
 Inde Mago procul infensam contenderat hastam.
 Ille astu subit; at tremebunda supervolat hasta;
 et genua amplexens effatur talia supplex:
 'Per patrios manes et spes surgentis Iuli
 te precor, hanc animam serves natoque patrique. 525
 Est domus alta, iacent penitus defossa talenta
 caelati argenti, sunt auri pondera facti
 infectique mihi. Non hic victoria Teucrum
 vertitur, aut anima una dabit discrimina tanta.'
 Dixerat. Aeneas contra cui talia reddit: 530
 'Argenti atque auri memoras quae multa talenta,
 natis parce tuis. Belli commercia Turnus
 sustulit ista prior iam tum Pallante perempto.
 Hoc patris Anchisae manes, hoc sentit Iulus.'
 Sic fatus galeam laeva tenet, atque reflexa 535

cervice oranti capulo tenuis applicat ensem.
 Nec procul Haemonides, Phoebi Triviaeque sacerdos,
 infula cui sacra redimibat tempora vitta,
 totus collucens veste atque insignibus armis:
 quem congressus agit campo, lapsusque superstans 540
 immolat, ingentique umbra tegit; arma Serestus
 lecta refert umeris, tibi, rex Gradive, tropaeum.
 Instaurant acies Vulcani stirpe creatus
 Caeculus et veniens Marsorum montibus Umbro:
 Dardanides contra furit. Anxuris ense sinistram 545
 et totum clipei ferro deiecerat orbem
 (dixerat ille aliquid magnum, vimque affore verbo
 crediderat, caeloque animum fortasse ferebat,
 canitiemque sibi et longos promiserat annos):
 Tarquitus exsultans contra fulgentibus armis, 550
 silvicolae Fauno Dryope quem Nympha crearat,
 obviis ardenti sese obtulit. Ille reducta
 lorica clipeique ingens onus impedit hasta;
 tum caput orantis nequiquam et multa parantis
 dicere deturbat terrae, truncumque tepentem 555
 provolvens super haec inimico pectore satur:
 'Istic nunc, metuende, iace. Non te optima mater
 condet humi, patriove onerabit membra sepulcro:
 alitibus linquere feris, aut gurgite mersum
 unda feret, piscesque impasti vulnera lambent.' 560
 Protinus Antaeum et Lucam, prima agmina Turni,
 persequitur fortemque Numam fulvumque Camertem,
 magnanimo Volcente satum, ditissimus agri
 qui fuit Ausonidum et tacitis regnavit Amyclis.
 Aegaeon qualis, centum cui brachia dicunt 565
 centenasque manus, quinquaginta oribus ignem
 pectoribusque arsisse, Iovis cum fulmina contra
 tot paribus streperet clipeis, tot stringeret enses:
 sic toto Aeneas desaevit in aequore victor,
 ut semel intepuit mucro. Quin ecce Niphaei 570
 quadriiuges in equos adversaque pectora tendit.
 Atque illi longe gradientem et dira frementem
 ut videre, metu versi retroque ruentes
effunduntque ducem rapiuntque ad litora currus.

Interea biuugis infert se Lucagus albis 575
in medios fraterque Liger; sed frater habenis
flectit equos, strictum rotat acer Lucagus ensem.
Haud tulit Aeneas tanto fervore furentes:
irruit adversaque ingens apparuit hasta.
Cui Liger: 580
‘Non Diomedis equos nec currum cernis Achillis
aut Phrygiae campos: nunc belli finis et aevi
his dabitur terris.’ Vesano talia late
dicta volant Ligeri. Sed non et Troïus heros
dicta parat contra: iaculum nam torquet in hostem. 585
Lucagus ut pronus pendens in verbera telo
admonuit biuugos, proiecto dum pede laevo
aptat se pugnae, subit oras hasta per imas
fulgentis clipei, tum laevum perforat inguen:
excussus curru moribundus volvitur arvis. 590
Quem pius Aeneas dictis affatur amaris:
‘Lucage, nulla tuos currus fuga segnis equorum
prodidit aut vanae vertere ex hostibus umbrae:
ipse rotis saliens iuga deseris.’ Haec ita fatus
arripuit biuugos; frater tendebat inertes 595
infelix palmas, curru delapsus eodem:
‘Per te, per qui te talem genuere parentes,
vir Troiane, sine hanc animam et miserere precantis.’
Pluribus oranti Aeneas: ‘Haud talia dudum
dicta dabas. Morere et fratrem ne desere frater.’ 600
Tum latebras animae pectus mucrone recludit.
Talia per campos edebat funera ductor
Dardanius, torrentis aquae vel turbinis atri
more furens. Tandem erumpunt et castra relinquunt
Ascanius puer et nequiquam obsessa iuventus. 605
Iunonem interea compellat Iuppiter ultro:
‘O germana mihi atque eadem gratissima coniunx,
ut rebare, Venus (nec te sententia fallit)
Troianas sustentat opes, non vivida bello
dextra viris animusque ferox patiensque pericli.’ 610
Cui Iuno submissa ‘Quid, o pulcherrime coniunx,
sollicitas aegram et tua tristia iussa timentem?
Si mihi, quae quondam fuerat quamque esse decebat,

vis in amore foret! non hoc mihi namque negares,
 omnipotens, quin et pugnae subducere Turnum 615
 et Dauno possem incolumem servare parenti.
 Nunc pereat Teucrisque pio det sanguine poenas.
 Ille tamen nostra deducit origine nomen,
 Pilumnusque illi quartus pater; et tua larga
 saepe manu multisque oneravit limina donis.' 620
 Cui rex aetherii breviter sic fatur Olympi:
 'Si mora praesentis leti tempusque caduco
 oratur iuveni, meque hoc ita ponere sentis,
 tolle fuga Turnum atque instantibus eripe fati:
 hactenus indulsisse vacat. Sin altior istis 625
 sub precibus venia ulla latet, totumque moveri
 mutarive putas bellum, spes pascis inanes.'
 Et Iuno allacrimans: 'Quid si, quae voce gravaris,
 mente dares atque haec Turno rata vita maneret?
 Nunc manet insontem gravis exitus, aut ego veri 630
 vana feror. Quod ut o potius formidine falsa
 ludar et in melius tua, qui potes, orsa reflectas!'
 Haec ubi dicta dedit, caelo se protinus alto
 misit, agens hiemem nimbo succincta per auras,
 Iliacamque aciem et Laurentia castra petivit. 635
 Tum dea nube cava tenuem sine viribus umbram
 in faciem Aeneae (visu mirabile monstrum)
 Dardaniis ornat telis, clipeumque iubasque
 divini assimulat capitis, dat inania verba,
 dat sine mente sonum, gressusque effingit euntis, 640
 morte obita quales fama est volitare figuras,
 aut quae sopitos deludunt somnia sensus.
 At primas laeta ante acies exsultat imago,
 irritatque virum telis et voce lacessit.
 Instat cui Turnus stridentemque eminens hastam 645
 conicit: illa dato vertit vestigia tergo.
 Tum vero Aenean aversum ut cedere Turnus
 credidit atque animo spem turbidus hausit inanem:
 'Quo fugis, Aenea? thalamos ne desere pactos;
 hac dabitur dextra tellus quaesita per undas.' 650
 Talia vociferans sequitur, strictumque coruscet
mucronem, nec ferre videt sua gaudia ventos.

Forte ratis celsi coniuncta crepidine saxi
 expositis stabat scalis et ponte parato,
 qua rex Clusinis advectus Osinius oris. 655
 Huc sese trepida Aeneae fugientis imago
 coniecit in latebras; nec Turnus segnior instat,
 exsuperatque moras, et pontes transilit altos.
 Vix proram attigerat: rumpit Saturnia funem,
 avulsamque rapit revoluta per aequora navem. 660
 Illum autem Aeneas absentem in proelia poscit;
 obvia multa virum demittit corpora morti:
 Tum levis haud ultra latebras iam quaerit imago,
 sed sublime volans nubi se immiscuit atrae:
 cum Turnum medio interea fert aequore turbo. 665
 Respicit ignarus rerum ingratusque salutis,
 et duplices cum voce manus ad sidera tendit.
 'Omnipotens Genitor, tanton' me crimine dignum
 duxisti et tales voluisti expendere poenas?
 quo feror? unde abii? quae me fuga quemve reducit? 670
 Laurentesne iterum muros aut castra video?
 Quid manus illa virum, qui me meaque arma secuti?
 quosne (nefas) omnes infanda in morte reliqui,
 et nunc palantes video, gemitumque cadentum
 accipio? Quid ago? Aut quae iam satis ima dehiscat 675
 terra mihi? Vos o potius miserescite, venti:
 in rupes, in saxa (volens vos Turnus adoro)
 ferte ratem, saevisque vadis immittite syrtis,
 quo neque me Rutuli nec conscia fama sequatur.'
 Haec memorans animo nunc huc, nunc fluctuat illuc, 680
 an sese mucrone ob tantum dedecus amens
 induat, et crudum per costas exigat ensem,
 fluctibus an iaciat mediis, et litora nando
 curva petat, Teucrumque iterum se reddat in arma.
 Ter conatus utramque viam, ter maxima Iuno 685
 continuit, iuvenemque animi miserata repressit.
 Labitur alta secans fluctuque aestuque secundo,
 et patris antiquam Dauni deferitur ad urbem.
 At Iovis interea monitis Mezentius ardens
 succedit pugnae Teucrosque invadit ovantes. 690
 Concurrunt Tyrrhenae acies atque omnibus uni,

uni odiisque viro telisque frequentibus instant.
 Ille velut rupes, vastum quae prodit in aequor,
 obvia ventorum furiis expostaque ponto,
 vim cunctam atque minas perfert caelique marisque, 695
 ipsa immota manens, prolem Dolichaonis Hebrum
 sternit humi, cum quo Latagum Palmumque fugacem,
 sed Latagum saxo atque ingenti fragmine montis
 occupat os faciemque adversam, poplite Palmum 700
 succiso volvi segnem sinit, armaque Lauso
 donat habere umeris et vertice figere cristas.
 Nec non Evanthen Phrygium, Paridisque Mimanta
 aequalem comitemque, una quem nocte Theano
 in lucem genitori Amyco dedit, et face praegnans
 Cisseis regina Parin creat: urbe paterna 705
 occubat, ignarum Laurens habet ora Mimanta.
 Ac velut ille canum morsu de montibus altis
 actus aper, multos Vesulus quem pinifer annos
 defendit multosque palus Laurentia, silva
 pastus harundinea, postquam inter retia ventum est, 710
 substitit infremuitque ferox et inhorruit armos,
 nec cuiquam irasci propiusque accedere virtus,
 sed iaculis tutisque procul clamoribus instant;
 ille autem impavidus partes cunctatur in omnes,
 dentibus infrendens, et tergo decutit hastas: 715
 haud aliter, iustae quibus est Mezentius irae,
 non ulli est animus stricto concurrere ferro;
 missilibus longè et vasto clamore lacescunt.
 Venerat antiquis Corythi de finibus Acron,
 Graius homo, infectos linquens profugus hymenaeos. 720
 Hunc ubi miscentem longe media agmina vidit,
 purpureum pennis et pactae coniugis ostro,
 impastus stabula alta leo ceu saepe peragrans,
 suadet enim vesana fames, si forte fugacem
 conspexit capream aut surgentem in cornua cervum, 725
 gaudet, hians immane, comasque arrexit et haeret
 visceribus super incumbens, lavit improba taeter
 ora cruor,
 sic ruit in densos alacer Mezentius hostes.

Sternitur infelix Acron, et calcibus atram 730
 tundit humum expirans, infractaque tela cruentat.
 Atque idem fugientem haud est dignatus Oroden
 sternere nec iacta caecum dare cuspidē vulnus :
 obuius aduersoque occurrit seque viro vir
 contulit, haud furto melior, sed fortibus armis. 735
 Tum super abiectum posito pede nixus et hasta :
 'Pars belli haud temnenda, viri, iacet altus Orodes.'
 Conclamant socii laetum paeana secuti.
 Ille autem expirans 'Non me, quicumque es, inulto,
 victor, nec longum laetabere: te quoque fata 740
 prospectant paria atque eadem mox arva tenebis.'
 Ad quae subridens mixta Mezentius ira,
 'Nunc morere. Ast de me divum pater atque hominum rex
 viderit.' Hoc dicens eduxit corpore telum :
 olli dura quies oculos et ferreus urget 745
 somnus, in aeternam clauduntur lumina noctem.
 Caedicus Alcathoum obruncat, Sacrator Hydaspen
 Partheniumque Rapo et praedurum viribus Orsen,
 Messapus Croniumque Lucaoniumque Erichaeten,
 illum infrenis equi lapsu tellure iacentem, 750
 hunc peditem pedes. Et Lycius processerat Agis,
 quem tamen haud expers Valerus virtutis avitae
 deicit; at Thronium Salius Saliumque Nealces
 insidiis, iaculo et longe fallente sagitta.
 Iam gravis aequabat luctus et mutua Mavors 755
 funera: caedebant pariter pariterque ruebant
 victores vinctique, neque his fuga nota neque illis.
 Di Iovis in tectis iram miserantur inanem
 amborum, et tantos mortalibus esse labores :
 hinc Venus, hinc contra spectat Saturnia Iuno, 760
 pallida Tisiphone media inter millia saevit.
 At vero ingentem quatiens Mezentius hastam
 turbidus ingreditur campo. Quam magnus Orion,
 cum pedes incedit medii per maxima Nerei
 stagna viam scindens, umero supereminet undas, 765
 aut summis referens annosam montibus ornum
ingrediturque solo et caput inter nubila condit:
talīs se vastis infert Mezentius armis.

Huic contra Aeneas, speculatus in agmine longo,
 obuius ire parat. Manet imperterritus ille, 770
 hostem magnanimum opperiens, et mole sua stat;
 atque oculis spatium emensus, quantum satis hastae:
 'Dextra mihi deus et telum, quod missile libro,
 nunc adsint! Voveo praedonis corpore raptis
 indutum spoliis ipsum te, Lause, tropaeum 775
 Aeneae.' Dixit, stridentemque eminus hastam
 iecit; at illa volans clipeo est excussa, proculque
 egregium Antoren latus inter et ilia figit,
 Herculis Antoren comitem, qui missus ab Argis
 haeserat Evandro atque Itala consederat urbe. 780
 Sternitur infelix alieno vulnere, caelumque
 aspicit et dulces moriens reminiscitur Argos.
 Tum pius Aeneas hastam iacit: illa per orbem
 aere cavum triplici, per linea terga tribusque
 transiit intextum tauris opus, imaque sedit 785
 inguine, sed vires haud pertulit. Ocius ensem
 Aeneas, viso Tyrrheni sanguine laetus,
 eripit a femine et trepidanti fervidus instat.
 Ingemuit cari graviter genitoris amore,
 ut vidit, Lausus, lacrimaeque per ora volutae. 790
 Hic mortis durae casum tuaque optima facta,
 si qua fidem tanto est operi latura vetustas,
 non equidem nec te, iuvenis memorande, silebo.
 Ille pedem referens et inutilis inque ligatus
 cedebat, clipeoque inimicum hastile trahebat: 795
 prorupit iuvenis seseque immiscuit armis,
 iamque assurgentis dextra plagamque ferentis
 Aeneae subiit mucronem, ipsumque morando
 sustinuit. Socii magno clamore sequuntur,
 dum genitor nati parma protectus abiret, 800
 telaque coniiciunt proturbantque eminus hostem
 missilibus. Furit Aeneas tectusque tenet se.
 Ac velut effusa si quando grandine nimbi
 praecipitant, omnis campis diffugit arator,
 omnis et agricola, et tuta latet arce viator, 805
 aut amnis ripis aut alti fornice saxi,
 dum pluit in terris, ut possint sole reducto

exercere diem: sic obrutus undique telis
 Aeneas nubem belli, dum detonet omnis,
 sustinet et Lausum increpitat Lausoque minatur: 810
 'Quo moriture ruis maioraque viribus audes?
 fallit te incautum pietas tua.' Nec minus ille
 exsultat demens; saevae iamque altius irae
 Dardanio surgunt ductori, extremaque Lauso
 Parcae fila legunt: validum namque exigit ensem 815
 per medium Aeneas iuvenem totumque recondit.
 Transiit et parmam mucro, levia arma minacis,
 et tunicam, molli mater quam neverat auro,
 implevitque sinum sanguis; tum vita per auras
 concessit maesta ad manes corpusque reliquit. 820
 At vero ut vultum vidit morientis et ora,
 ora modis Anchisiades pallentia miris,
 ingemuit miserans graviter dextramque tetendit,
 et mentem patriae subiit pietatis imago.
 'Quid tibi nunc, miserande puer, pro laudibus istis, 825
 quid pius Aeneas tanta dabit indole dignum?
 Arma, quibus laetatus, habe tua, teque parentum
 manibus et cineri, si qua est ea cura, remitto.
 Hoc tamen infelix miseram solabere mortem,
 Aeneae magni dextra cadis.' Increpat ultro 830
 cunctantes socios, et terra sublevat ipsum,
 sanguine turpantem comptos de more capillos.
 Interea genitor Tiberini ad fluminis undam
 vulnera siccabat lymphis, corpusque levabat
 arboris acclinis trunco. Procul aerea ramis 835
 dependet galea et prato gravia arma quiescunt.
 Stant lecti circum iuvenes: ipse aeger anhelans
 colla fovet, fusus propexam in pectore barbam;
 multa super Lauso rogitat, multumque remittit
 qui revocent, maestique ferant mandata parentis. 840
 At Lausum socii exanimem super arma ferebant
 flentes, ingentem atque ingenti vulnere victum.
 Agnovit longe gemitum praesaga mali mens:
 canitiem multo deformat pulvere, et ambas
 ad caelum tendit palmas et corpore inhaeret. 845
 'Tantane me tenuit vivendi, nate, voluptas,

ut pro me hostili paterer succedere dextrae,
 quem genui? tuane haec genitor per vulnera servor,
 morte tua vivens? Heu, nunc misero mihi demum
 exitium infelix, nunc alte vulnus adactum. 850
 Idem ego, nate, tuum maculavi crimine nomen,
 pulsus ob invidiam solio sceptrisque paternis.
 Debueram patriae poenas odiisque meorum:
 omnes per mortes animam sontem ipse dedissem!
 Nunc vivo neque adhuc homines lucemque relinquo: 855
 sed linquam.' Simul hoc dicens attollit in aegrum
 se femur et, quamquam vis alto vulnere tardat,
 haud deiectus equum duci iubet. Hoc decus illi,
 hoc solamen erat; bellis hoc victor abibat
 omnibus. Alloquitur maerentem et talibus infit: 860
 'Rhaebe, diu, res si qua diu mortalibus ulla est,
 viximus. Aut hodie victor spolia illa cruenta
 et caput Aeneae referes, Lausique dolorum
 ultor eris mecum aut, aperit si nulla viam vis,
 occumbes pariter; neque enim, fortissime, credo, 865
 iussa aliena pati et dominos dignabere Teucros.'
 Dixit et exceptus tergo consueta locavit
 membra, manusque ambas iaculis oneravit acutis,
 aere caput fulgens, cristaque hirsutus equina.
 Sic cursum in medios rapidus dedit: aestuat ingens 870
 uno in corde pudor mixtoque insania luctu,
 [et furiis agitatus amor et conscia virtus.]
 Atque hic Aenean magna ter voce vocavit.
 Aeneas agnovit enim laetusque precatur:
 'Sic Pater ille deum faciat, sic altus Apollo! 875
 Incipias conferre manum.'
 Tantum effatus et infesta subit obvius hasta.
 Ille autem 'Quid me erepto, saevissime, nato
 terras? Haec via sola fuit, qua perdere posses.
 Nec mortem horremus nec divum parcimus ulli. 880
 Desine: nam venio moriturus et haec tibi porto
 dona prius.' Dixit telumque intorsit in hostem;
 inde aliud super atque aliud figitque volatque
 ingenti gyro, sed sustinet aureus umbo.
 Ter circum astantem laevos equitavit in orbes

tela manu iaciens, ter secum Troïus heros
immanem aerato circumfert tegmine silvam.
Inde ubi tot traxisse moras, tot spicula taedet
vellere et urgetur pugna congressus iniqua,
multa movens animo iam tandem erumpit, et inter 890
bellatoris equi cava tempora coniicit hastam.
Tollit se arrectum quadrupes et calcibus auras
verberat, effusumque equitem super ipse secutus
implicat, eiectoque incumbit cernuus armo.
Clamore incendunt caelum Troesque Latinique. 895
Advolat Aeneas vaginaque eripit ensem,
et super haec: 'Ubi nunc Mezentius acer et illa
effera vis animi?' Contra Tyrrhenus, ut auras
suspiciens hausit caelum mentemque recepit:
'Hostis amare, quid increpitas mortemque minaris? 900
nullum in caede nefas, nec sic ad proelia veni,
nec tecum meus haec pepigit mihi foedera Lausus.
Unum hoc per si qua est victis venia hostibus oro,
corpus humo patiari tegi. Scio acerba meorum
circumstare odia: hunc, oro, defende furorem, 905
et me consortem nati concede sepulcro.'
Haec loquitur, iuguloque haud inscius accipit ensem,
undantique animam diffundit in arma cruore.

AENEIS.

LIBER UNDECIMUS.

OCEANUM interea surgens Aurora reliquit :
Aeneas, quamquam et sociis dare tempus humanis
praecipitant curae turbataque funere mens est,
vota deum primo victor solvebat Eoo.
Ingentem quercum decisis undique ramis 5
constituit tumulo, fulgentiaque induit arma,
Mezenti ducis exuvias, tibi, magne, tropaeum,
Bellipotens : aptat rorantes sanguine cristas,
telaque trunca viri, et bis sex thoraca petitem
perfossumque locis, clipeumque ex aere sinistrae 10
subligat atque ensem collo suspendit eburnum.
Tum socios (namque omnis eum stipata tegebat
turba ducum) sic incipiens hortatur ovantes :
'Maxima res effecta, viri ; timor omnis abesto,
quod superest : haec sunt spolia et de rege superbo 15
primitiae, manibusque meis Mezentius hic est.
Nunc iter ad regem nobis murosque Latinos.
Arma parate animis et spe praesumite bellum,
ne qua mora ignaros, ubi primum vellere signa
annuerint Superi pubemque educere castris, 20
impediat, segnisve metu sententia tardet.
Interea socios inhumataque corpora terrae
mandemus, qui solus honos Acheronte sub imo est.
Ite' ait, 'egregias animas, quae sanguine nobis
hanc patriam peperere suo, decorate supremis 25
muneribus, maestamque Evandri primus ad urbem
mittatur Pallas, quem non virtutis egentem
abstulit atra dies et funere mersit acerbo.

Sic ait illacrimans recipitque ad limina gressum,
 corpus ubi exanimi positum Pallantis Acoetes 30
 servabat senior, qui Parrhasio Evandro
 armiger ante fuit, sed non felicibus aequè
 tum comes auspiciis caro datus ibat alumno.
 Circum omnis famulumque manus Troianaque turba,
 et maestum Iliades crinem de more solutae. 35
 Ut vero Aeneas foribus sese intulit altis,
 ingentem gemitum tunsis ad sidera tollunt
 pectoribus, maestoque immugit regia luctu.
 Ipse caput nivei fultum Pallantis et ora
 ut vidit, levique patens in pectore vulnus 40
 cuspidis Ausoniae, lacrimis ita fatur obortis.
 'Tene' inquit, 'miserande puer, cum laeta veniret,
 invidit Fortuna mihi, ne regna videres
 nostra neque ad sedes victor veherere paternas?
 Non haec Evandro de te promissa parenti 45
 discedens dederam, cum me complexus euntem
 mitteret in magnum imperium, metuensque moneret
 acres esse viros, cum dura proelia gente.
 Et nunc ille quidem spe multum captus inani
 fors et vota facit, cumulatque altaria donis: 50
 nos iuvenem exanimum et nil iam caelestibus ullis
 debentem vano maesti comitamur honore.
 Infelix, nati funus crudele videbis!
 Hi nostri reditus exspectatique triumphi,
 haec mea magna fides? At non, Evandre, pudendis 55
 vulneribus pulsum aspicias, nec sospite dirum
 optabis nato funus pater. Hei mihi, quantum
 praesidium Ausonia et quantum tu perdis, Iule!'

Haec ubi deflevit, tolli miserabile corpus
 imperat, et toto lectos ex agmine mittit 60
 mille viros, qui supremum comitentur honorem,
 intersintque patris lacrimis, solatia luctus
 exigua ingentis, misero sed debita patri.
 Haud segnes alii crates et molle feretrum
 arbuteis texunt virgis et vimine querno, 65
exstructosque toros obtentu frondis inumbrant.
— iuvenem agresti sublimem stramine ponunt,

qualem virgineo demessum pollice florem
 seu mollis violae seu languentis hyacinthi,
 cui neque fulgor adhuc nec dum sua forma recessit, 70
 non iam mater alit tellus viresque ministrat.

Tum geminas vestes auroque ostroque rigentes
 extulit Aeneas, quas illi laeta laborum
 ipsa suis quondam manibus Sidonia Dido
 fecerat, et tenui telas discreverat auro. 75

Harum unam iuveni supremum maestus honorem
 induit, arsurasque comas obnubit amictu,
 multaque praeterea Laurentis praemia pugnae
 aggerat, et longo praedam iubet ordine duci:
 addit equos et tela, quibus spoliaverat hostem. 80

Vinxerat et post terga manus, quos mitteret umbris
 inferias, caeso sparsuros sanguine flammās,
 indutosque iubet truncos hostilibus armis
 ipsos ferre duces inimicaque nomina figi.
 Ducitur infelix aevo confectus Acoetes 85

pectora nunc foedans pugnis, nunc unguibus ora;
 sternitur et toto proiectus corpore terrae.
 Ducunt et Rutulo perfusos sanguine currus.
 Post bellator equus positus insignibus Aethon
 it lacrimans guttisque umectat grandibus ora. 90

Hastam alii galeamque ferunt, nam cetera Turnus
 victor habet. Tum maesta phalanx Teucricque sequuntur
 Tyrrhenique omnes et versis Arcades armis.
 Postquam omnis longe comitum praecesserat ordo,
 substitit Aeneas gemituque haec addidit alto: 95

‘Nos alias hinc ad lacrimas eadem horrida belli
 fata vocant: salve aeternum mihi, maxime Palla,
 aeternumque vale.’ Nec plura effatus ad altos
 tendebat muros gressumque in castra ferebat.

Iamque oratores aderant ex urbe Latina, 100
 velati ramis oleae veniamque rogantes:

corpora, per campos ferro quae fusa iacebant,
 redderet ac tumulto sineret succedere terrae;
 nullum cum victis certamen et aethere cassis;
 parceret hospitibus quondam socerisque vocatis.
 Quos bonus Aeneas haud aspernanda precantes

- prosequitur venia et verbis haec insuper addit:
 'Quaenam vos tanto fortuna indigna, Latini,
 implicuit bello, qui nos fugiatis amicos?
 Pacem me exanimis et Martis sorte peremptis
 oratis? equidem et vivis concedere vellem. 110
 Nec veni, nisi fata locum sedemque dedissent,
 nec bellum cum gente gero: rex nostra reliquit
 hospitia et Turni potius se credidit armis.
 Aequius huic Turnum fuerat se opponere morti:
 si bellum finire manu, si pellere Teucros 115
 apparat, his mecum decuit concurrere telis:
 vixet, cui vitam deus aut sua dextra dedisset.
 Nunc ite et miseris supponite civibus ignem.'
 Dixerat Aeneas. Illi obstupuere silentes, 120
 conversique oculos inter se atque ora tenebant.
 Tum senior semperque odiis et crimine Drances
 infensus iuveni Turno sic ore vicissim
 orsa refert: 'O fama ingens, ingentior armis
 vir Troiane, quibus caelo te laudibus aequem? 125
 iustitiaene prius mirer belline laborum?
 Nos vero haec patriam grati referemus ad urbem,
 et te, si qua viam dederit fortuna, Latino
 iungemus regi: quaerat sibi foedera Turnus.
 Quin et fatales murorum attollere moles, 130
 saxaque subvectare umeris Troiana iuvabit.'
 Dixerat haec, unoque omnes eadem ore fremebant.
 Bis senos pepigere dies, et pace sequestra
 per silvas Teucri mixtique impune Latini
 erravere iugis. Ferro sonat alta bipenni 135
 fraxinus, evertunt actas ad sidera pinus,
 robora nec cuneis et olentem scindere cedrum,
 nec plaustis cessant vectare gementibus ornos.
 Et iam Fama volans, tanti praenuntia luctus,
 Evandrum Evandrique domos et moenia replet, 140
 quae modo victorem Latio Pallanta ferebat.
 Arcades ad portas ruere et de more vetusto
 funereas rapuere faces; lucet via longo
ordine flammaram et late discriminat agros.
Contra turba Phrygum veniens plangentia iungit 145

agmina. Quae postquam matres succedere tectis
 viderunt, maestam incendunt clamoribus urbem.
 At non Evandrum potis est vis ulla tenere,
 sed venit in medios. Feretro Pallanta reposito
 procubuit super atque haeret lacrimansque gemensque, 150
 et via vix tandem voci laxata dolore est:
 'Non haec, o Palla, dederas promissa parenti,
 cautius ut saevo velles te credere Marti.
 haud ignarus eram, quantum nova gloria in armis
 et praedulce decus primo certamine posset. 155
 Primitiae iuvenis miserae, bellique propinqui
 dura rudimenta, et nulli exaudita deorum
 vota precesque meae! tuque, o sanctissima coniunx,
 felix morte tua neque in hunc servata dolorem!
 Contra ego vivendo vici mea fata, superstes 160
 restarem ut genitor. Troum socia arma secutum
 obruerent Rutuli telis! animam ipse dedissem,
 atque haec pompa domum me, non Pallanta, referret!
 Nec vos arguerim, Teucri, nec foedera nec quas
 iunximus hospitio dextras: sors ista senectae 165
 debita erat nostrae. Quod si immatura manebat
 mors natum, caesis Volscorum millibus ante
 ducentem in Latium Teucros cecidisse iuvabit.
 Quin ego non alio digner te funere, Palla,
 quam pius Aeneas et quam magni Phryges et quam 170
 Tyrrhenique duces, Tyrrhenum exercitus omnis.
 Magna tropaea ferunt, quos dat tua dextera leto.
 Tu quoque nunc stares immanis truncus in armis,
 esset par aetas et idem si robur ab annis,
 Turne. Sed infelix Teucros quid demoror armis? 175
 Vadite et haec memores regi mandata referte:
 quod vitam moror invisam Pallante perempto,
 dextera causa tua est, Turnum natoque patrique
 quam debere vides. Meritis vacat hic tibi solus
 fortunaeque locus. Non vitae gaudia quaero 180
 (nec fas), sed nato Manes perferre sub imos.'

Aurora interea miseris mortalibus almam
 extulerat lucem, referens opera atque labores:
iam pater Aeneas, iam curvo in litore Tarchon

constituere pyras. Huc corpora quisque suorum 185
more tulere patrum, subiectisque ignibus atris
conditur in tenebras altum caligine caelum.
Ter circum accensos cincti fulgentibus armis
decurrere rogos, ter maestum funeris ignem
lustrare in equis ululatusque ore dedere; 190
spargitur et tellus lacrimis, sparguntur et arma:
it caelo clamorque virum clangorque tubarum.
Hic alii spolia occisis derepta Latinis
coniciunt igni, galeas ensesque decoros
frenaque ferventesque rotas; pars munera nota, 195
ipsorum clipeos et non felicia tela.
Multa boum circa mactantur corpora Morti,
setigerosque sues raptasque ex omnibus agris
in flammam iugulant pecudes. Tum litore toto
ardentes spectant socios, semiustaque servant 200
busta, neque avelli possunt, nox umida donec
invertit caelum stellis ardentibus aptum.
Nec minus et miseri diversa in parte Latini
innumeras struxere pyras, et corpora partim
multa virum terrae infodiunt, avectaque partim 205
finitimos tollunt in agros ubique remittunt,
cetera confusaeque ingentem caedis acervum
nec numero nec honore cremant: tunc undique vasti
certatim crebris collucent ignibus agri.
Tertia lux gelidam caelo dimoverat umbram: 210
maerentes altum cinerem et confusa ruebant
ossa focis, tepidoque onerabant aggere terrae.
Iam vero in tectis, praedivitis urbe Latini,
praecipuus fragor et longi pars maxima luctus.
Hic matres miseraeque nurus, hic cara sororum 215
pectora maerentum, puerique parentibus orbi
dirum execrantur bellum Turnique hymenaeos:
ipsum armis ipsumque iubent decernere ferro,
qui regnum Italiae et primos sibi poscat honores.
Ingravat haec saevus Drances solumque vocari 220
testatur, solum posci in certamina Turnum.
*Multa simul contra variis sententia dictis
pro Turno, et magnum reginae nomen obumbrat,*

multa virum meritis sustentat fama tropaeis.

Hos inter motus, medio in flagrante tumultu,
 ecce super maesti magna Diomedis ab urbe
 legati responsa ferunt: nihil omnibus actum
 tantorum impensis operum, nil dona neque aurum
 nec magnas valuisse preces, alia arma Latinis
 quaerenda aut pacem Troiano ab rege petendum.
 Deficit ingenti luctu rex ipse Latinus.

Fatalem Aenean manifesto numine ferri
 admonet ira deum tumulique ante ora recentes.
 Ergo concilium magnum primosque suorum
 imperio accitos alta intra limina cogit.
 Olli convenere fluuntque ad regia plenis
 tecta viis. Sedet in mediis et maximus aevo
 et primus sceptris haud laeta fronte Latinus.
 Atque hic legatos Aetola ex urbe remissos
 quae referant fari iubet, et responsa reposcit
 ordine cuncta suo. Tum facta silentia linguis,
 et Venulus dicto parens ita farier infit:

‘Vidimus, o cives, Diomedem Argivaeque castra,
 atque iter emensi casus superavimus omnes,
 contigimusque manum, qua concidit Ilia tellus.
 Ille urbem Argyripam patriae cognomine gentis
 victor Gargani condebat Iapygis agris.
 Postquam introgressi et coram data copia fandi,
 munera praeferimus, nomen patriamque docemus,
 qui bellum intulerint, quae causa attraxerit Arpos.
 Auditis ille haec placido sic reddidit ore:

“O fortunatae gentes, Saturnia regna,
 antiqui Ausonii, quae vos fortuna quietos
 sollicitat suadetque ignota lacessere bella?
 quicumque Iliacos ferro violavimus agros
 (mitto ea, quae muris bellando exhausta sub altis,
 quos Simois premat ille viros), infanda per orbem
 supplicia et scelerum poenas expendimus omnes,
 vel Priamo miseranda manus: scit triste Minervae
 sidus et Euboicae cautes ultorque Caphereus.
 Militia ex illa diversum ad litus abacti
 Atrides Protei Menelaus adusque columnas

exsulat, Aetnaeos vidit Cyclopas Ulixes.
 Regna Neoptolemi referam versosque penates
 Idomenei? Libycone habitantes litore Locros? 265
 Ipse Mycenaeus magnorum ductor Achivum
 coniugis infandae prima inter limina dextra
 oppetiit; devictam Asiam subsedit adulter.
 Invidisse deos, patriis ut redditus aris
 coniugium optatum et pulchram Calydonā viderem! 270
 Nunc etiam horribili visu portenta sequuntur,
 et socii amissi petierunt aethera pennis
 fluminibusque vagantur aves (heu dira meorum
 supplicia!) et scopulos lacrimosis vocibus implent.
 Haec adeo ex illo mihi iam speranda fuerunt 275
 tempore, cum ferro caelestia corpora demens
 appetiit et Veneris violavi vulnere dextram.
 Ne vero, ne me ad tales impellite pugnas:
 nec mihi cum Teucris ullum post eruta bellum
 Pergama, nec veterum memini laetorve malorum. 280
 Munera, quae patriis ad me portatis ab oris,
 vertite ad Aenean. Stetimus tela aspera contra
 contulimusque manus: experto credite, quantus
 in clipeum assurgat, quo turbine torqueat hastam.
 Si duo praeterea tales Idaea tulisset 285
 terra viros, ultro Inachias venisset ad urbes
 Dardanus, et versis lugeret Græcia fati.
 Quidquid apud durae cessatum est moenia Troiae,
 Hectoris Aeneaeque manu victoria Graium
 haesit et in decimum vestigia rettulit annum. 290
 Ambo animis, ambo insignes praestantibus armis,
 hic pietate prior. Coeant in foedera dextrae,
 qua datur; ast armis concurrant arma cavete.
 Et responsa simul quae sint, rex optime, regis
 audisti et quae sit magno sententia bello. 295
 Vix ea legati, variusque per ora cucurrit
 Ausonidum turbata fremor: ceu saxa morantur
 cum rapidos amnes, fit clauso gurgite murmur,
 vicinaeque fremunt ripae crepitantibus undis.
 Ut primum placati animi et trepida ora quierunt, 300
 praefatus divos solio rex infit ab alto:

'Ante equidem summa de re statuisset, Latini,
 et vellem et fuerat melius, non tempore tali
 cogere concilium, cum muros assidet hostis.
 Bellum importunum, cives, cum gente deorum 305
 invictisque viris gerimus, quos nulla fatigant
 proelia: nec victi possunt absistere ferro.
 Spem si quam ascitis Aetolum habuistis in armis,
 ponite. Spes sibi quisque; sed haec quam angusta videtis.
 Cetera qua rerum iaceant perculsa ruina, 310
 ante oculos interque manus sunt omnia vestras.
 Nec quemquam incuso: potuit quae plurima virtus
 esse, fuit; toto certatum est corpore regni.
 Nunc adeo quae sit dubiae sententia menti
 expediam et paucis (animos adhibete) docebo. 315
 Est antiquus ager Tusco mihi proximus amni,
 longus in occasum, fines super usque Sicanos;
 Aurunci Rutulique serunt, et vomere duros
 exercent colles, atque horum asperrima pascunt.
 Haec omnis regio et celsi plaga pinea montis 320
 cedat amicitiae Teucrorum, et foederis aequas
 dicamus leges sociosque in regna vocemus.
 Considerant, si tantus amor, et moenia condant.
 Sin alios fines aliamque capessere gentem
 est animus possuntque solo decedere nostro: 325
 bis denas Italo texamus robore naves,
 seu plures complere valent; iacet omnis ad undam
 materies; ipsi numerumque modumque carinis
 praecipiant, nos aera manus navalia demus.
 Praeterea qui dicta ferant et foedera firmant 330
 centum oratores prima de gente Latinos
 ire placet, pacisque manu praetendere ramos,
 munera portantes auri que eborisque talenta
 et sellam regni trabeamque insignia nostri.
 Consulite in medium et rebus succurrite fessis.' 335
 Tum Drances idem infensus, quem gloria Turni
 obliqua invidia stimulisque agitabat amaris,
 largus opum et lingua melior, sed frigida bello
 dextera, consiliis habitus non futilis auctor,
seditione potens: genus huic materna superbum

nobilitas dabat, incertum de patre ferebat;
 surgit et his onerat dictis atque aggerat iras :
 'Rem nulli obscuram nostrae nec vocis egentem
 consulis, o bone rex : cuncti se scire fatentur,
 quid fortuna ferat populi, sed dicere mussant. 345
 Det libertatem fandi flatusque remittat,
 cuius ob auspicium infaustum moresque sinistros
 (dicam equidem, licet arma mihi mortemque minetur)
 lumina tot cecidisse ducum totamque videmus
 consedissee urbem luctu, dum Troia temptat 350
 castra fugae fidens et caelum territat armis.
 Unum etiam donis istis, quae plurima mitti
 Dardanidis dicique iubes, unum, optime regum,
 adicias, nec te ullius violentia vincat,
 quin natam egregio genero dignisque hymenaeis 355
 des, pater, et pacem hanc aeterno foedere iungas.
 Quod si tantus habet mentes et pectora terror,
 ipsum obtestemur veniamque oremus ab ipso,
 cedat, ius proprium regi patriaeque remittat.
 Quid miseros totiens in aperta pericula cives 360
 proiicias, o Latio caput horum et causa malorum?
 Nulla salus bello : pacem te poscimus omnes,
 Turne, simul pacis solum inviolabile pignus.
 Primus ego, invisum quem tu tibi fingis (et esse
 nil moror), en supplex venio. Miserere tuorum. 365
 Pone animos et pulsus abi. Sat funera fusi
 vidimus, ingentes et desolavimus agros.
 Aut si fama movet, si tantum pectore robur
 concipis et si adeo dotalis regia cordi est,
 aude atque adversum fidens fer pectus in hostem. 370
 Scilicet ut Turno contingat regia coniunx,
 nos animae viles, inhumata infletaque turba,
 sternamur campis? Etiam tu, si qua tibi vis,
 si patrii quid Martis habes, illum aspice contra,
 qui vocat.' 375

Talibus exarsit dictis violentia Turni.
 dat gemitum rumpitque has imo pectore voces :
 'Larga quidem, Drance, semper tibi copia fandi
tum, cum bella manus poscunt, patribusque vocatis

primus ades. Sed non replenda est curia verbis, 380
 quae tuto tibi magna volant, dum distinet hostem
 agger murorum nec inundant sanguine fossae.
 Proinde tona eloquio, solitum tibi, meque timoris
 argue tu, Drance, quando tot stragis acervos
 Teucrorum tua dextra dedit, passimque tropaeis 385
 insignis agros. Possit quid vivida virtus,
 experiare licet; nec longe scilicet hostes
 quaerendi nobis: circumstant undique muros.
 Imus in adversos? quid cessas? an tibi Mavors
 ventosa in lingua pedibusque fugacibus istis 390
 semper erit?
 Pulsus ego? aut quisquam merito, foedissime, pulsum
 arguet, Iliaco tumidum qui crescere Thybrim
 sanguine et Evandri totam cum stirpe videbit
 procubuisse domum, atque exutos Arcadas armis? 395
 Haud ita me experti Bitias et Pandarus ingens,
 et quos mille die victor sub Tartara misi,
 inclusus muris hostilique aggere saeptus.
 "Nulla salus bello." Capiti cane talia, demens,
 Dardanio rebusque tuis. Proinde omnia magno 400
 ne cessa turbare metu, atque extollere vires
 gentis bis victae, contra premere arma Latini.
 Nunc et Myrmidonum proceres Phrygia arma tremescunt,
 nunc et Tydides et Larisaeus Achilles,
 amnis et Hadriacas retro fugit Aufidus undas. 405
 Vel cum se pavidum contra mea iurgia fingit
 (artificis scelus) et formidine crimen acerbatur.
 Numquam animam talem dextra hac (absiste moveri)
 amittes: habitet tecum et sit pectore in isto.
 Nunc ad te et tua magna, pater, consulta revertor. 410
 Si nullam nostris ultra spem ponis in armis,
 si tam deserti sumus, et semel agmine verso
 funditus occidimus, neque habet Fortuna regressum,
 oremus pacem et dextras tendamus inertes.
 Quamquam o, si solitae quicquam virtutis adesset! 415
 Ille mihi ante alios fortunatusque laborum
 egregiusque animi, qui, ne quid tale videret,
 procubuit moriens et humum simul ore momordit.

Sin et opes nobis et adhuc intacta iuventus,
 auxilioque urbes Italiae populique supersunt, 420
 sin et Troianis cum multo gloria venit
 sanguine (sunt illis sua funera parque per omnes
 tempestas): cur indecores in limine primo
 deficimus? cur ante tubam tremor occupat artus?
 Multa dies varique labor mutabilis aevi 425
 rettulit in melius, multos alterna revisens
 lusit et in solido rursus Fortuna locavit.
 Non erit auxilio nobis Aetolus et Arpi:
 at Messapus erit felixque Tolumnius et quos
 tot populi misere duces, nec parva sequetur 430
 gloria delectos Latio et Laurentibus agris.
 Est et Volscorum egregia de gente Camilla,
 agmen agens equitum et florentes aere catervas.
 Quod si me solum Teucri in certamina poscunt,
 idque placet, tantumque bonis communibus obsto, 435
 non adeo has exosa manus Victoria fugit,
 ut tanta quicquam pro spe temptare recusem.
 Ibo animis contra, vel magnum praestet Achillem
 factaque Vulcani manibus paria induat arma
 ille licet. Vobis animam hanc soceroque Latino 440
 Turnus ego, haud ulli veterum virtute secundus,
 devovi. "Solum Aeneas vocat:" et vocet oro;
 nec Drances potius, sive est haec ira deorum,
 morte luat, sive est virtus et gloria, tollat.
 Illi haec inter se dubiis de rebus agebant 445
 certantes; castra Aeneas aciemque movebat:
 nuntius ingenti per regia tecta tumultu
 ecce ruit, magnisque urbem terroribus implet,
 instructos acie Tiberino a flumine Teucros
 Tyrrhenamque manum totis descendere campis. 450
 Extemplo turbati animi concussaue vulgi
 pectora, et arrectae stimulis haud mollibus irae.
 Arma manu trepidi poscunt, fremit arma iuventus,
 flent maesti mussantque patres. Hic undique clamor
 dissensu vario magnus se tollit in auras: 455
 haud secus atque alto in luco cum forte catervae
consedere avium, piscosove amne Padusae

dant sonitum rauci per stagna loquacia cycni.
 'Immo' ait 'o cives' arrepto tempore Turnus,
 'cogite concilium et pacem laudate sedentes :
 illi armis in regna ruunt.' Nec plura locutus
 corripuit sese et tectis citus extulit altis.
 'Tu, Voluse, armari Volscorum edice maniplos,
 duc' ait 'et Rutulos. Equitem Messapus in armis
 et cum fratre Coras latis diffundite campis.
 Pars aditus urbis firmet turresque capessat;
 cetera, qua iusso, mecum manus inferat arma.'
 Illicet in muros tota discurritur urbe.
 Concilium ipse pater et magna incepta Latinus
 deserit ac tristi turbatus tempore differt,
 multaque se incusat, qui non acceperit ultro
 Dardanium Aenean generumque asciverit urbi.
 Praefodiunt alii portas aut saxa sudesque
 subvectant. Bello dat signum rauca cruentum
 buccina. Tum muros varia cinxere corona
 matronae puerique: vocat labor ultimus omnes.
 Nec non ad templum summasque ad Palladis arces
 subvehitur magna matrum regina caterva
 dona ferens, iuxtaque comes Lavinia virgo,
 causa mali tanti, oculos deiecta decoros.
 Succedunt matres et templum ture vaporant,
 et maestas alto fundunt de limine voces :
 'Armipotens, praeses belli, Tritonia virgo,
 frange manu telum Phrygii praedonis, et ipsum
 pronum sterne solo, portisque effunde sub altis.'
 Cingitur ipse furens certatim in proelia Turnus.
 Iamque adeo rutilum thoraca indutus aënis
 horrebat squamis, surasque incluserat auro,
 tempora nudus adhuc, laterique accinxerat ensem,
 fulgebatque alta decurrens aureus arce,
 exsultatque animis et spe iam praecipit hostem :
 qualis ubi abruptis fugit praesepia vinclis
 tandem liber equus, campoque potitus aperto,
 aut ille in pastus armentaque tendit equarum,
 aut assuetus aquae perfundi flumine noto
 emicat, arrectisque fremit cervicibus alte

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luxurians, luduntque iubae per colla, per armos.
 Obvia cui Volscorum acie comitante Camilla
 occurrit, portisque ab equo regina sub ipsis
 desiluit, quam tota cohors imitata relictis 500
 ad terram defluxit equis; tum talia fatur:
 'Turne, sui merito si qua est fiducia forti,
 audeo et Aeneadam promitto occurrere turmae
 solaque Tyrrhenos equites ire obvia contra.
 Me sine prima manu temptare pericula belli: 505
 tu pedes ad muros subsiste et moenia serva.'
 Turnus ad haec, oculos horrenda in virgine fixus:
 'O decus Italiae virgo, quas dicere grates
 quasve referre parem? sed nunc, est omnia quando 510
 iste animus supra, mecum partire laborem.
 Aeneas, ut fama fidem missique reportant
 exploratores, equitum levia improbus arma
 praemisit, quaterent campos; ipse ardua montis
 per deserta iugo superans adventat ad urbem.
 Furta paro belli convexo in tramite silvae, 515
 ut bivas armato obsidam milite fauces.
 Tu Tyrrhenum equitem collatis excipe signis;
 tecum acer Messapus erit turmaeque Latinae
 Tiburtique manus; ducis et tu concipe curam.'
 Sic ait, et paribus Messapum in proelia dictis 520
 hortatur sociosque duces, et pergit in hostem.
 Est curvo anfractu valles, accommoda fraudi
 armorumque dolis, quam densis frondibus atrum
 urget utrimque latus, tenuis quo semita ducit
 angustaeque ferunt fauces aditusque maligni. 525
 Hanc super in speculis summoque in vertice montis
 planities ignota iacet tutique receptus,
 seu dextra laevaue velis occurrere pugnae,
 sive instare iugis et grandia volvere saxa.
 Huc iuvenis nota fertur regione viarum, 530
 arripuitque locum et silvis insedit iniquis.
 Velocem interea superis in sedibus Opim,
 unam ex virginibus sociis sacraque caterva,
 compellabat et has tristes Latonia voces
 ore dabat: 'Graditur bellum ad crudele Camilla, 535

o virgo, et nostris nequiquam cingitur armis,
 cara mihi ante alias. Neque enim novus iste Dianae
 venit amor subitaque animum dulcedine movit.
 Pulsus ob invidiam regno viresque superbas
 Priverno antiqua Metabus cum excederet urbe, 540
 infantem fugiens media inter proelia belli
 sustulit exilio comitem, matrisque vocavit
 nomine Casmillae mutata parte Camillam.
 Ipse sinu prae se portans iuga longa petebat
 solorum nemorum: tela undique saeva premebant, 545
 et circumfuso volitabant milite Volsci.
 Ecce fugae medio summis Amasenus abundans
 spumabat ripis: tantus se nubibus imber
 ruperat. Ille, innare parans, infantis amore
 tardatur caroque oneri timet. Omnia secum 550
 versanti subito vix haec sententia sedit.
 Telum immane manu valida quod forte gerebat
 bellator, solidum nodis et robore cocto,
 huic natam, libro et silvestri subere clausam,
 implicat atque habilem mediae circumligat hastae; 555
 quam dextra ingenti librans ita ad aethera fatur:
 "Alma, tibi hanc, nemorum cultrix, Latonia virgo,
 ipse pater famulam voveo: tua prima per auras
 tela tenens supplex hostem fugit. Accipe, testor,
 diva tuam, quae nunc dubiis committitur auris.' 560
 Dixit, et adducto contortum hastile lacerto
 immittit: sonuere undae: rapidum super amnem
 infelix fugit in iaculo stridente Camilla.
 At Metabus, magna propius iam urgente caterva,
 dat sese fluvio, atque hastam cum virgine victor 565
 gramineo donum Triviae de caespite vellit.
 Non illum tectis ullae, non moenibus urbes
 accipere neque ipse manus feritate dedisset:
 pastorum et solis exegit montibus aevum.
 Hic natam in dumis interque horrentia lustra 570
 armentalis equae mammis et lacte ferino
 nutribat, teneris immulgens ubera labris.
 Utque pedum primis infans vestigia plantis
 institerat, iaculo palmas armavit acuto

spiculaque ex umero parvae suspendit et arcum. 575
 Pro crinali auro, pro longae tegmine pallae
 tigridis exuviae per dorsum a vertice pendent.
 Tela manu iam tum tenera puerilia torsit,
 et fundam tereti circum caput egit habena,
 Strymoniamque gruem aut album deiecit olorem. 580
 Multae illam frustra Tyrrhena per oppida matres
 optavere nurum : sola contenta Diana
 aeternum telorum et virginitatis amorem
 intemerata colit. Vellem haud correpta fuisset
 militia tali, conata lacessere Teucros : 585
 cara mihi comitumque foret nunc una mearum.
 Verum age, quandoquidem fatis urgetur acerbis,
 labere, Nympha, polo finesque invise Latinos,
 tristis ubi infausto committitur omine pugna.
 Haec cape et ultricem pharetra deprome sagittam : 590
 hac, quicumque sacrum violarit vulnere corpus,
 Tros Italusque, mihi pariter det sanguine poenas.
 Post ego nube cava miserandae corpus et arma
 inspoliata feram tumultu patriaeque reponam.
 Dixit ; at illa levis caeli delapsa per auras 595
 insonuit, nigro circumdata turbine corpus.
 At manus interea muris Troiana propinquat
 Etruscique duces equitumque exercitus omnis,
 compositi numero in turmas. Fremit aequore toto
 insultans sonipes, et pressis pugnat habenis 600
 huc obversus et huc ; tum late ferreus hastis
 horret ager campique armis sublimibus ardent.
 Nec non Messapus contra celeresque Latini
 et cum fratre Coras et virginis ala Camillae
 adversi campo apparent, hastasque reductis 605
 protendunt longe dextris et spicula vibrant,
 adventusque virum fremitusque ardescit equorum.
 Iamque intra iactum teli progressus uterque
 substiterat : subito erumpunt clamore furentesque
 exhortantur equos : fundunt simul undique tela 610
 crebra nivis ritu caelumque obtexitur umbra.
 Continuo adversis Tyrrhenus et acer Aconteus
 xi incurrunt hastis, primique ruinam

dant sonitu ingenti, perfractaque quadrupedantum
 pectora pectoribus rumpunt: excussus Aconteus 615
 fulminis in morem aut tormento ponderis acti
 praecipitat longe et vitam dispergit in auras.
 Exemplo turbatae acies, versique Latini
 reiciunt parmas et equos ad moenia vertunt.
 Troes agunt, princeps turmas inducit Asilas. 620
 Iamque propinquabant portis, rursusque Latini
 clamorem tollunt et mollia colla reflectunt:
 hi fugiunt penitusque datis referuntur habenis.
 Qualis ubi alterno procurrens gurgite pontus
 nunc ruit ad terram, scopulosque superiacit unda 625
 spumeus, extremamque sinu perfundit harenam,
 nunc rapidus retro atque aestu revoluta resorbens
 saxa fugit, litusque vado labente relinquit:
 bis Tusci Rutulos egere ad moenia versos,
 bis reiecti armis respectant terga tegentes. 630
 Tertia sed postquam congressi in proelia totas
 implicuere inter se acies, legitque virum vir:
 tum vero et gemitus morientum, et sanguine in alto
 armaque corporaque et permixti caede virorum
 semianimes volvuntur equi, pugna aspera surgit. 635
 Orsilochns Remuli, quando ipsum horrebat adire,
 hastam intorsit equo ferrumque sub aure reliquit.
 Quo sonipes ictu furit arduus, altaque iactat
 vulneris impatiens arrecto pectore crura:
 volvitur ille excussus humi. Catillus Iollan 640
 ingentemque animis, ingentem corpore et armis
 deiicit Herminium, nudo cui vertice fulva
 caesaries nudique umeri, nec vulnera terrent:
 tantus in arma patet. Latos huic hasta per artus
 acta tremit duplicatque virum transfixa dolore. 645
 Funditur ater ubique cruor; dant funera ferro
 certantes pulchramque petunt per vulnera mortem.
 At medias inter caedes exsultat Amazon,
 unum exserta latus pugnae, pharetrata Camilla,
 et nunc lenta manu spargens hastilia denset, 650
 nunc validam dextra rapit indefessa bipennem;
 aureus ex umero sonat arcus et arma Dianae.

Illa etiam in tergum, si quando pulsa recessit,
 spicula converso fugientia dirigit arcu.
 At circum lectae comites, Larinaque virgo 655
 Tullaque et aeratam quatiens Tarpeia securim,
 Italides, quas ipsa decus sibi dia Camilla
 delegit pacisque bonas bellicae ministras:
 quales Threiciae cum flumina Thermodontis
 pulsant et pictis bellantur Amazones armis, 660
 seu circum Hippolyten, seu cum se Martia curru
 Penthesilea refert, magnoque ululante tumultu
 feminea exsultant lunatis agmina peltis.
 Quem telo primum, quem postremum, aspera virgo,
 deiicis? aut quot humi morientia corpora fundis? 665
 Euneum Clytio primum patre, cuius apertum
 adversi longa transverberat abiete pectus:
 sanguinis ille vomens rivos cadit, atque cruentam
 mandit humum, moriensque suo se in vulnere versat.
 Tum Lirim Pagasumque super; quorum alter habenas 670
 suffosso revolutus equo dum colligit, alter
 dum subit ac dextram labenti tendit inermem,
 praecipites pariterque ruunt. His addit Amasrum
 Hippotaden, sequiturque incumbens eminus hasta
 Tereaque Harpalycumque et Demophoonta Chrominque; 675
 quotque emissa manu contorsit spicula virgo,
 tot Phrygii cecidere viri. Procul Ornytus armis
 ignotis et equo venator Iapyge fertur,
 cui pellis latosumeros erepta iuvenco
 pugnatori operit, caput ingens oris hiatus 680
 et malae texere lupi cum dentibus albis,
 agrestisque manus armat sparus; ipse catervis
 vertitur in mediis et toto vertice supra est.
 Hunc illa exceptum (neque enim labor agmine verso)
 traiecit et super haec inimico pectore fatur: 685
 'Silvis te, Tyrrhene, feras agitare putasti?
 Advenit qui vestra dies muliebribus armis
 verba redarguerit. Nomen tamen haud leve patrum
 manibus hoc referes, telo cecidisse Camillae.'
 Protinus Orsiloichum et Buten, duo maxima Teucrum 690
 corpora, sed Buten aversum cuspidem fixit

loricam galeamque inter, qua colla sedentis
 lucent et laevo dependet parma lacerto,
 Orsilochum fugiens magnumque agitata per orbem
 eludit gyro interior sequiturque sequentem, 695
 tum validam perque arma viro perque ossa securim
 altior exsurgens oranti et multa precanti
 congeminat: vulnus calido rigat ora cerebro.
 Incidit huic subitoque aspectu territus haesit
 Appenninicolae bellator filius Auni, 700
 haud Ligurum extremus, dum fallere fata sinebant.
 Isque ubi se nullo iam cursu evadere pugnae
 posse neque instantem reginam avertere cernit,
 consilio versare dolos ingressus et astu
 incipit haec: 'Quid tam egregium, si femina forti 705
 fidis equo? Dimitte fugam et te comminus aequo
 mecum crede solo, pugnaeque accinge pedestri:
 Iam nosces, ventosa ferat cui gloria fraudem.'
 Dixit, at illa furens acrique accensa dolore
 tradit equum comiti paribusque resistit in armis, 710
 ense pedes nudo puraque interrita parma.
 At iuvenis, vicisse dolo ratus, avolat ipse
 (haud mora) conversisque fugax aufertur habenis,
 quadripedemque citum ferrata calce fatigat.
 'Vane Ligus frustra que animis elate superbis, 715
 nequiquam patrias temptasti lubricus artes,
 nec fraus te incolumem fallaci perferet Auno.'
 Haec fatur virgo et pernicious ignea plantis
 transit equum cursu, frenisque adversa prehensis
 congregit poenasque inimico ex sanguine sumit: 720
 quam facile accipiter saxo sacer ales ab alto
 consequitur pennis sublimem in nube columbam,
 comprehensamque tenet pedibusque eviscerat uncis;
 tum cruor et vulsae labuntur ab aethere plumae.
 At non haec nullis hominum sator atque deorum 725
 observans oculis summo sedet altus Olympo:
 Tyrrhenum Genitor Tarchonem in proelia saeva
 suscitatur et stimulis haud mollibus incitat iras.
 Ergo inter caedes cedentiaque agmina Tarchon
 fertur equo variisque instigatur vocibus alas,

nomine quemque vocans, reficitque in proelia pulsos.
 'Quis metus, o numquam dolituri, o semper inertes
 Tyrrheni, quae tanta animis ignavia venit?
 femina palantes agit atque haec agmina vertit!
 Quo ferrum quidve haec gerimus tela irrita dextris? 735
 At, non in Venerem segnes nocturnaue bella,
 aut ubi curva choros indixit tibia Bacchi,
 exspectare dapes et plenae pocula mensae
 (hic amor, hoc studium), dum sacra secundus haruspex
 nuntiet ac lucos vocet hostia pinguis in altos!' 740
 Haec effatus equum in medios, moriturus et ipse,
 concitat et Venulo adversum se turbidus infert,
 dereptumque ab equo dextra complectitur hostem
 et gremium ante suum multa vi concitus aufert.
 Tollitur in caelum clamor, cunctique Latini 745
 convertere oculos. Volat igneus aequore Tarchon
 arma virumque ferens; tum summa ipsius ab hasta
 defringit ferrum et partes rimatur apertas,
 qua vulnus letale ferat; contra ille repugnans
 sustinet a iugulo dextram et vim viribus exit. 750
 Utque volans alte raptum cum fulva draconem
 fert aquila implicuitque pedes atque unguibus haesit,
 saucius at serpens sinuosa volumina versat,
 arrectisque horret squamis et sibilat ore,
 arduus insurgens; illa haud minus urget obunco 755
 luctantem rostro, simul aethera verberat alis:
 haud aliter praedam Tiburtum ex agmine Tarchon
 portat ovans. Ducis exemplum eventumque secuti
 • Maeonidae incurrunt. Tum fatis debitus Arruns
 velocem iaculo et multa prior arte Camillam 760
 circuit et, quae sit fortuna facillima, temptat.
 Qua se cumque furens medio tulit agmine virgo,
 hac Arruns subit et tacitus vestigia lustrat:
 qua victrix redit illa pedemque ex hoste reportat,
 hac iuvenis furtim celeres detorquet habenas. 765
 Hos aditus iamque hos aditus omnemque pererrat
 undique circuitum et certam quatit improbus hastam.
 Forte sacer Cybelae Chloreus olimque sacerdos
 insignis longe Phrygiis fulgebat in armis,

spumantemque agitabat equum, quem pellis aënis 770
 in plumam squamis auro conserta tegebat.
 Ipse, peregrina ferrugine clarus et ostro,
 spicula torquebat Lycio Gortynia cornu;
 aureus ex umeris erat arcus et aurea vati
 cassida; tum croceam chlamydemque sinusque crepantes 775
 carbaseos fulvo in nodum collegerat auro,
 pictus acu tunicas et barbara tegmina crurum.
 Hunc virgo, sive ut templis praefigeret arma
 Troja, captivo sive ut se ferret in auro,
 venatrix unum ex omni certamine pugnae 780
 caeca sequebatur, totumque incauta per agmen
 femineo praedae et spoliolum ardebat amore,
 telum ex insidiis cum tandem tempore capto
 concitat et superos Arruns sic voce precatur:
 'Summe deum, sancti custos Soractis Apollo, 785
 quem primi colimus, cui pineus ardor acervo
 pascitur, et medium freti pietate per ignem
 cultores multa premimus vestigia pruna,
 da, pater, hoc nostris aboleri dedecus armis,
 omnipotens. Non exuvias pulsaeve tropaeum 790
 virginis aut spolia ulla peto; mihi cetera laudem
 facta ferent; haec dira meo dum vulnere pestis
 pulsa cadat, patrias remeabo inglorius urbes.'
 Audiit et voti Phoebus succedere partem
 mente dedit, partem volucres dispersit in auras: 795
 sterneret ut subita turbatam morte Camillam,
 annuit oranti; reducem ut patria alta videret,
 non dedit, inque notos vocem vertere procellae.
 Ergo ut missa manu sonitum dedit hasta per auras,
 convertere animos acres oculosque tulere 800
 cuncti ad reginam Volsci. Nihil ipsa nec aurae
 nec sonitus memor aut venientis ab aethere teli,
 hasta sub exsertam donec perlata papillam
 haesit, virgineumque alte bibit acta cruorem.
 Concurrunt trepidae comites dominamque ruentem 805
 suscipiunt. Fugit ante omnes exterritus Arruns,
 laetitia mixtoque metu, nec iam amplius hastae
 credere nec telis occurrere virginis audet.

Ac velut ille, prius quam tela inimica sequantur,
 continuo in montes sese avius abdidit altos 810
 occiso pastore lupus magnove iuvenco,
 conscius audacis facti, caudamque remulcens
 subiecit pavitantem utero silvasque petivit :
 haud secus ex oculis se turbidus abstulit Arruns,
 contentusque fuga mediis se immiscuit armis. 815
 Illa manu moriens telum trahit, ossa sed inter
 ferreus ad costas alto stat vulnere mucro :
 labitur exsanguis, labuntur frigida leto
 lumina, purpureus quondam color ora reliquit.
 Tum sic exspirans Accam ex aequalibus unam 820
 alloquitur, fida ante alias quae sola Camillae,
 quicum partiri curas ; atque haec ita fatur :
 ‘ Hactenus, Acca soror, potui : nunc vulnus acerbum
 conficit, et tenebris nigrescunt omnia circum.
 Effuge et haec Turno mandata novissima perfer : 825
 succedat pugnae Troianosque arceat urbe.
 Iamque vale.’ Simul his dictis linquebat habenas,
 ad terram non sponte fluens. Tum frigida toto
 paulatim exsolvit se corpore, lentaque colla
 et captum leto posuit caput, arma relinquens, 830
 vitaeque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras.
 Tum vero immensus surgens ferit aurea clamor
 sidera : deiecta crudescit pugna Camilla,
 incurrunt densi simul omnis copia Teucrum
 Tyrrhenique duces Evandrique Arcades alae. 835
 At Triviae custos iam dudum in montibus Opis
 alta sedet summis spectatque interrita pugnans.
 Utque procul medio iuvenum in clamore furentum
 prospexit tristi mulcatam morte Camillam,
 ingemuitque deditque has imo pectore voces : 840
 ‘ Heu nimium, virgo, nimium crudele luisti
 supplicium, Teucros conata lacescere bello !
 Nec tibi desertae in dumis coluisse Dianam
 profuit aut nostras umero gessisse sagittas.
 Non tamen indecorem tua te regina reliquit 845
extrema iam in morte, neque hoc sine nomine letum

per gentes erit aut famam patieris inultae.
 Nam quicumque tuum violavit vulnere corpus,
 morte luet merita.' Fuit ingens monte sub alto
 regis Dercenni terreno ex aggere bustum 850
 antiqui Laurentis, opacaeque ilice tectum:
 hic dea se primum rapido pulcherrima nisu
 sistit et Arruntem tumulo speculatur ab alto.
 Ut vidit fulgentem armis ac vana tumentem,
 'Cur' inquit 'diversus abis? huc dirige gressum, 855
 huc periture veni, capias ut digna Camillae
 praemia. Tune etiam telis moriere Dianae?'
 Dixit, et aurata volucrem Threissa sagittam
 deprompsit pharetra, cornuque infensa tetendit
 et duxit longe, donec curvata coirent 860
 inter se capita et manibus iam tangeret aequis,
 laeva aciem ferri, dextra nervoque papillam.
 Extemplo teli stridorem aurasque sonantes
 audiit una Arruns, haesitque in corpore ferrum.
 Illum expirantem socii atque extrema gementem 865
 oblitus ignoto camporum in pulvere linquunt,
 Opis ad aetherium pennis aufertur Olympum.
 Prima fugit domina amissa levis ala Camillae;
 turbati fugiunt Rutuli, fugit acer Atinas,
 disiectique duces desolatique manipuli 870
 tuta petunt, et equis aversi ad moenia tendunt.
 Nec quisquam instantes Teucros letumque ferentes
 sustentare valet telis aut sistere contra,
 sed laxos referunt umeris languentibus arcus,
 quadrupedumque putrem cursu quatit ungula campum. 875
 Volvitur ad muros caligine turbidus atra
 pulvis, et e speculis percussae pectora matres
 femineum clamorem ad caeli sidera tollunt.
 Qui cursu portas primi irrupere patentes,
 hos inimica super mixto premit agmine turba; 880
 nec miseram effugiunt mortem, sed limine in ipso,
 moenibus in patriis atque inter tuta domorum
 confixi expirant animas. Pars claudere portas:
 nec sociis aperire viam nec moenibus audent

| | |
|--|-----|
| accipere orantes, oriturque miserrima caedes | 885 |
| defendentum armis aditus inque arma ruentum. | |
| Exclusi ante oculos lacrimantumque ora parentum | |
| pars in praecipites fossas urgente ruina | |
| volvitur, immissis pars caeca et concita frenis | |
| arietat in portas et duros obliice postes. | 890 |
| Ipsae de muris summo certamine matres | |
| (monstrat amor verus patriae), ut videre Camillam, | |
| tela manu trepidae faciunt, ac robore duro | |
| stipitibus ferrum sudibusque imitantur obustis | |
| praecipites, primaque mori pro moenibus ardent. | 895 |
| Interea Turnum in silvis saevissimus implet | |
| nuntius, et iuveni ingentem fert Acca tumultum: | |
| deletas Volscorum acies, cecidisse Camillam, | |
| ingruere infensos hostes et Marte secundo | |
| omnia corripuisse, metum iam ad moenia ferri. | 900 |
| Ille furens (et saeva Iovis sic numina pellunt) | |
| deserit obsessos colles, nemora aspera linquit. | |
| Vix e conspectu exierat campumque tenebat, | |
| cum pater Aeneas saltus ingressus apertos | |
| exsuperatque iugum silvae evadit opaca. | 905 |
| Sic ambo ad muros rapidi totoque feruntur | |
| agmine nec longis inter se passibus absunt; | |
| ac simul Aeneas fumantes pulvere campos | |
| prospexit longe Laurentiaque agmina vidit, | |
| et saevum Aenean agnovit Turnus in armis | 910 |
| adventumque pedum flatusque audivit equorum. | |
| Continuoque ineant pugnas et proelia temptent, | |
| ni roseus fessos iam gurgite Phoebus Hiberno | |
| tingat equos noctemque die labente reducat: | |
| considunt castris ante urbem et moenia vallant. | 915 |

AENEIS.

LIBER DUODECIMUS.

TURNUS ut infractos adverso Marte Latinos
defecisse videt, sua nunc promissa reposci,
se signari oculis, ultro implacabilis ardet
attollitque animos. Poenorum qualis in arvis
saucius ille gravi venantum vulnere pectus 5
tum demum movet arma leo, gaudetque comantes
excutiens cervice toros, fixumque latronis
impavidus frangit telum et fremit ore cruento:
haud secus accenso gliscit violentia Turno.
Tum sic affatur regem atque ita turbidus infit: 10
'Nulla mora in Turno; nihil est quod dicta retractent
ignavi Aeneadae, nec quae pepigere recusent:
congregior. Fer sacra, pater, et concipe foedus.
Aut hac Dardanium dextra sub Tartara mittam,
desertorem Asiae (sedeant spectentque Latini), 15
et solus ferro crimen commune refellam,
aut habeat victos, cedat Lavinia coniunx.'

Olli sedato respondit corde Latinus:
'O praestans animi iuvenis, quantum ipse feroci
virtute exsuperas, tanto me impensius aequum est 20
consulere atque omnes metuentem expendere casus.
Sunt tibi regna patris Dauni, sunt oppida capta
multa manu, nec non aurumque animusque Latino est;
sunt aliae innuptae Latio et Laurentibus arvis,
nec genus indecores. Sine me haec haud mollia fatu 25
sublatis aperire dolis, simul hoc animo hauri.
Me natam nulli veterum sociare procorum
fas erat, idque omnes divique hominesque canebant.

Victus amore tui, cognato sanguine victus
 coniugis et maestae lacrimis, vincla omnia rupi : 30
 promissam eripui genero, arma impia sumpsi.
 Ex illo qui me casus, quae, Turne, sequantur
 bella, vides, quantos primus patiare labores.
 Bis magna victi pugna vix urbe tuemur
 spes Italas; recalent nostro Thybrina fluenta 35
 sanguine adhuc campique ingentes ossibus albert.
 Quo referor totiens? quae mentem insania mutat?
 si Turno extincto socios sum ascire paratus,
 cur non incolumi potius certamina tollo?
 quid consanguinei Rutuli, quid cetera dicet 40
 Italia, ad mortem si te (Fors dicta refutet)
 prodiderim, natam et conubia nostra petentem?
 Respice res bello varias; miserere parentis
 longaeui, quem nunc maestum patria Ardea longe
 dividit.' Haudquaquam dictis violentia Turni 45
 flectitur: exsuperat magis aegrescitque medendo.
 Ut primum fari potuit, sic institit ore:
 'Quam pro me curam geris, hanc precor, optime, pro me
 deponas letumque sinas pro laude pacisci:
 et nos tela, pater, ferrumque haud debile dextra 50
 spargimus; et nostro sequitur de vulnere sanguis.
 Longe illi dea mater erit, quae nube fugacem
 feminea tegat et vanis sese occulat umbris.'
 At regina, nova pugnae conterrita sorte,
 flebat et ardentem generum moritura tenebat: 55
 'Turne, per has ego te lacrimas, per si quis Amatae
 tangit honos animum (spes tu nunc una, senectae
 tu requies miserae, decus imperiumque Latini
 te penes, in te omnis domus inclinata recumbit),
 unum oro: desiste manum committere Teucris. 60
 Qui te cumque manent isto certamine casus,
 et me, Turne, manent: simul haec invisā relinquam
 lumina nec generum Aenean captiva videbo.'
 Accepit vocem lacrimis Lavinia matris
 flagrantem perfusa genas, cui plurimus ignem 65
subiecit rubor et calefacta per ora cucurrit.
Indum sanguineo veluti violaverit ostro

si quis ebur, aut mixta rubent ubi lilia multa
 alba rosa: tales virgo dabat ore colores.
 Illum turbat amor, figitque in virgine vultus: 70
 ardet in arma magis paucisque affatur Amatam:
 'Ne, quaeso, ne me lacrimis neve omine tanto
 prosequere in duri certamina Martis euntem,
 o mater; neque enim Turno mora libera mortis.
 Nuntius haec Idmon Phrygio mea dicta tyranno 75
 haud placitura refer: cum primum crastina caelo
 puniceis invecta rotis Aurora rubebit,
 non Teucros agat in Rutulos, Teucrum arma quiescant
 et Rutuli; nostro dirimamus sanguine bellum,
 illo quaeratur coniunx Lavinia campo.' 80

Haec ubi dicta dedit rapidusque in tecta recessit,
 poscit equos gaudetque tuens ante ora frementes,
 Pilumno quos ipsa decus dedit Orithyia,
 qui candore nives anteirent, cursibus auras.
 Circumstant properi aurigae manibusque lacessunt 85
 pectora plausa cavis et colla comantia pectunt.
 Ipse dehinc auro squalentem alboque orichalco
 circumdat loricam umeris; simul aptat habendo
 ensemque clipeumque et rubrae cornua cristae,
 ensem, quem Dauno ignipotens deus ipse parenti 90
 fecerat et Stygia candentem tinxerat unda.
 Exin quae mediis ingenti annixa columnae
 aedibus astabat, validam vi corripit hastam,
 Actoris Aurunci spoliū, quassatque trementem
 vociferans: 'Nunc, o numquam frustrata vocatus 95
 hasta meos, nunc tempus adest: te maximus Actor,
 te Turni nunc dextra gerit. Da sternere corpus
 loricamque manu valida lacerare revulsam
 semiviri Phrygis, et foedare in pulvere crines
 vibratos calido ferro murraque madentes.' 100
 His agitur furiis; totoque ardentis ab ore
 scintillae absiliunt, oculis micat acribus ignis:
 mugitus veluti cum prima in proelia taurus
 terrificos ciet atque irasci in cornua temptat,
 arboris obnixus trunco, ventosque lacessit
 105
ictibus aut sparsa ad pugnam proludit harena.

Nec minus interea maternis saevus in armis

Aeneas acuit Martem et se suscitât ira,

oblato gaudens componi foedere bellum.

Tum socios maestique metum solatur Iuli,

110

fata docens, regique iubet responsa Latino

certa referre viros et pacis dicere leges.

Postera vix summos spargebat lumine montes

orta dies, cum primum alto se gurgite tollunt

solis equi lucemque elatis naribus efflant :

115

campum ad certamen magnae sub moenibus urbis

dimensi Rutulique viri Teucrique parabant,

in medioque focos et dis communibus aras

gramineas, alii fontemque ignemque ferebant,

velati limo et verbena tempora vincti.

120

Procedit legio Ausonidum, pilataque plenis

agmina se fundunt portis. Hinc Troïus omnis

Tyrrhenusque ruit variis exercitus armis,

haud secus instructi ferro, quam si aspera Martis

pugna vocet; nec non mediis in millibus ipsi

125

ductores auro volitant ostroque superbi,

et genus Assaraci Mnestheus et fortis Asilas

et Messapus equum domitor, Neptunia proles.

Utque dato signo spatia in sua quisque recessit,

defigunt tellure hastas et scuta reclinant.

130

Tum studio effusae matres et vulgus inermum

invalidique senes turre ac tecta domorum

obsedere, alii portis sublimibus astant.

At Iuno e summo, qui nunc Albanus habetur

(tum neque nomen erat nec honos aut gloria monti),

135

prospiciens tumulo campum aspectabat et ambas

Laurentum Troumque acies urbemque Latini.

Extemplo Turni sic est affata sororem

diva deam, stagnis quae fluminibusque sonoris

praesidet; hunc illi rex aetheris altus honorem

140

Iuppiter erepta pro virginitate sacravit :

‘Nympha, decus fluviorum, animo gratissima nostro,

scis ut te cunctis unam, quaecumque Latinae

magnanimi Iovis ingratum ascendere cubile,

praetulerim caelique libens in parte locarim : 145
 disce tuum, ne me incuses, Iuturna, dolorem.
 Qua visa est Fortuna pati Parcaeque sinebant
 cedere res Latio, Turnum et tua moenia texi :
 nunc iuvenem imparibus video concurrere fatis,
 Parcarumque dies et vis inimica propinquat. 150
 Non pugnam aspicere hanc oculis, non foedera possum.
 Tu pro germano si quid praesentius audes,
 perge: decet. Forsan miseros meliora sequentur.'
 Vix ea, cum lacrimas oculis Iuturna profudit,
 terque quaterque manu pectus percussit honestum. 155
 'Non lacrimis hoc tempus' ait Saturnia Iuno;
 'accelera et fratrem, si quis modus, eripe morti,
 aut tu bella cie conceptumque excute foedus :
 auctor ego audendi.' Sic exhortata reliquit
 incertam et tristi turbatam vulnere mentis. 160

Interea reges, ingenti mole Latinus
 quadriugo vehitur curru, cui tempora circum
 aurati bis sex radii fulgentia cingunt,
 Solis avi specimen; bigis it Turnus in albis,
 bina manu lato crispans hastilia ferro; 165
 hinc pater Aeneas, Romanae stirpis origo,
 sidereo flagrans clipeo et caelestibus armis,
 et iuxta Ascanius, magnae spes altera Romae,
 procedunt castris, puraque in veste sacerdos
 saetigeri fetum suis intonsamque bidentem 170
 attulit, admovitque pecus flagrantibus aris.
 Illi ad surgentem conversi lumina solem
 dant fruges manibus salsas, et tempora ferro
 summa notant pecudum paterisque altaria libant.
 Tum pius Aeneas stricto sic ense precatur : 175
 'Esto nunc Sol testis et haec mihi Terra vocanti,
 quam propter tantos potui perferre labores,
 et Pater omnipotens et tu Saturnia coniunx
 (iam melior, iam, diva, precor), tuque inclite Mavors,
 cuncta tuo qui bella, pater, sub numine torques; 180
 fontesque fluviosque voco, quaeque aetheris alti
 religio et quae caeruleo sunt numina ponto:
 cesserit Ausonio si fors victoria Turno,

convenit Evandri victos discedere ad urbem,
 cedit Iulus agris, nec post arma ulla rebelles 185
 Aeneadae referent ferro haec regna lacescent.
 Sin nostrum annuerit nobis Victoria Martem
 (ut potius reor et potius di numine firmant),
 non ego nec Teucris Italos parere iubebo
 nec mihi regna peto: paribus se legibus ambae 190
 invictae gentes aeterna in foedera mittant.
 Sacra deosque dabo; socer arma Latinus habeto,
 imperium sollemne socer; mihi moenia Teucri
 constituent, urbiq; dabit Lavinia nomen.
 Sic prior Aeneas; sequitur sic deinde Latinus 195
 suspiciens caelum, tenditque ad sidera dextram:
 'Haec eadem, Aenea, terram mare sidera iuro,
 Latonaeque genus duplex, Ianumque bifrontem,
 vimque deum infernam et duri sacraria Ditis;
 audiat haec Genitor, qui foedera fulmine sancit. 200
 Tango aras, medios ignes et numina testor:
 nulla dies pacem hanc Italis nec foedera rumpet,
 quo res cumque cadent; nec me vis ulla volentem
 avertet, non, si tellurem effundat in undas
 diluvio miscens caelumque in Tartara solvat; 205
 ut sceptrum hoc' (dextra sceptrum nam forte gerebat)
 'numquam fronde levi fundet virgulta nec umbras,
 cum semel in silvis imo de stirpe recisum
 matre caret, posuitque comas et brachia ferro,
 olim arbos, nunc artificis manus aere decoro 210
 inclusit, patribusque dedit gestare Latinis.'
 Talibus inter se firmabant foedera dictis
 conspectu in medio procerum. Tum rite sacratas
 in flammam iugulant pecudes, et viscera vivis
 eripiunt cumulantque oneratis lancibus aras. 215
 At vero Rutulis impar ea pugna videri
 iamdudum et vario misceri pectora motu;
 tum magis, ut propius cernunt non viribus aequis.
 Adiuvat incessu tacito progressus et aram
 suppliciter venerans demisso lumine Turnus, 220
 tabentesque genae et iuvenali in corpore pallor.

Quem simul ac Iuturna soror crebescere vidit
 sermonem et vulgi variare labantia corda,
 in medias acies, formam assimilata Camerti
 (cui genus a proavis ingens, clarumque paternae 225
 nomen erat virtutis, et ipse acerrimus armis),
 in medias dat sese acies haud nescia rerum,
 rumoresque serit varios ac talia fatur:
 'Non pudet, o Rutuli, pro cunctis talibus unam
 obiectare animam? numerone an viribus aequi 230
 non sumus? en omnes et Troes et Arcades hi sunt,
 fatalesque manus, infensa Etruria Turno:
 vix hostem, alterni si congregiamur, habemus.
 Ille quidem ad superos, quorum se devovet aris,
 succedet fama vivusque per ora feretur: 235
 nos patria amissa dominis parere superbis
 cogemur, qui nunc lenti consedimus arvis.'
 Talibus incensa est iuvenum sententia dictis
 iam magis atque magis, serpitque per agmina murmur;
 ipsi Laurentes mutati ipsique Latini. 240
 Qui sibi iam requiem pugnae rebusque salutem
 sperabant, nunc arma volunt foedusque precantur
 infectum et Turni sortem miserantur iniquam.
 His aliud maius Iuturna adiungit, et alto
 dat signum caelo, quo non praesentius ullum 245
 turbavit mentes Italas monstroque fefellit.
 Namque volans rubra fulvus Iovis ales in aethra
 litoreas agitabat aves turbamque sonantem
 agminis aligeri, subito cum lapsus ad undas
 cycnum excellentem pedibus rapit improbus uncis. 250
 Arrexere animos Itali, cunctaeque volucres
 convertunt clamore fugam (mirabile visu)
 aetheraque obscurant pennis, hostemque per auras
 facta nube premunt, donec vi victus et ipso
 pondere defecit, praedamque ex unguibus ales 255
 proiecit fluvio penitusque in nubila fugit.
 Tum vero augurium Rutuli clamore salutant
 expediuntque manus; primusque Tolumnius augur
 'Hoc erat, hoc, votis' inquit 'quod saepe petivi.
 Accipio agnoscoque deos; me, me duce ferrum

corripite, o miseri, quos improbus advena bello
 territat, invalidas ut aves, et litora vestra
 vi populat: petet ille fugam penitusque profundo
 vela dabit. Vos unanimi densete catervas,
 et regem vobis pugna defendite raptum.' 265
 Dixit, et adversos telum contorsit in hostes
 procurrens: sonitum dat stridula cornus et auras
 certa secat. Simul hoc, simul ingens clamor, et omnes
 turbati cunei, calefactaque corda tumultu.
 Hasta volans, ut forte novem pulcherrima fratrum 270
 corpora constiterant contra, quos fida crearat
 una tot Arcadio coniunx Tyrrhena Gylippo,
 horum unum ad medium, teritur qua sutilis alvo
 balteus et laterum iuncturas fibula mordet,
 egregium forma iuvenem et fulgentibus armis 275
 transadigit costas fulvaeque effundit harena.
 At fratres, animosa phalanx accensaque luctu,
 pars gladios stringunt manibus, pars missile ferrum
 corripunt caecique ruunt. Quos agmina contra
 procurreunt Laurentum, hinc densi rursus inundant 280
 Troes Agyllinique et pictis Arcades armis:
 sic omnes amor unus habet decernere ferro.
 Diripuerunt aras; it toto turbida caelo
 tempestas telorum, ac ferreus ingruit imber;
 craterasque focosque ferunt. Fugit ipse Latinus 285
 pulsatos referens infecto foedere divos.
 Infrenant alii currus, aut corpora saltu
 subiiciunt in equos et strictis ensibus adsunt.
 Messapus regem regisque insigne gerentem
 Tyrrhenum Aulesten, avidus confundere foedus, 290
 adverso proterret equo: ruit ille recedens
 et miser oppositis a tergo involvitur aris
 in caput inqueumeros. At fervidus advolat hasta
 Messapus, teloque orantem multa trabali
 desuper altus equo graviter ferit atque ita fatur: 295
 'Hoc habet, haec melior magnis data victima divis.'
 Concurrunt Itali spolianteque calentia membra.
Obvius ambustum torrem Corynaeus ab ara
corripit, et venienti Ebuso plagamque ferenti

occupat os flammis: olli ingens barba reluxit
 nidoremque ambusta dedit. Super ipse secutus
 caesariem laeva turbati corripit hostis,
 impressoque genu nitens terrae applicat ipsum:
 sic rigido latus ense ferit. Podalirius Alsum
 pastorem primaque acie per tela ruentem
 ense sequens nudo superimminet: ille securi
 adversi frontem mediam mentumque reducta
 disiciit, et sparso late rigat arma cruore.
 Olli dura quies oculos et ferreus urget
 somnus, in aeternam clauduntur lumina noctem.

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310

At pius Aeneas dextram tendebat inermem
 nudato capite atque suos clamore vocabat:
 'Quo ruitis? quaeve ista repens discordia surgit?
 O cohibete iras: ictum iam foedus et omnes
 compositae leges; mihi ius concurrere soli;
 me sinite atque auferte metus; ego foedera faxo
 firma manu; Turnum debent haec iam mihi sacra.'
 Has inter voces, media inter talia verba,
 ecce viro stridens alis allapsa sagitta est,
 incertum qua pulsa manu, quo turbine adacta,
 quis tantam Rutulis laudem, casusne deusne,
 attulerit: pressa est insignis gloria facti,
 nec sese Aeneae iactavit vulnere quisquam.
 Turnus ut Aenean cedentem ex agmine vidit
 turbatosque duces, subita spe fervidus ardet:
 poscit equos atque arma simul, saltuque superbus
 emicat in currum et manibus molitur habenas.
 Multa virum volitans dat fortia corpora leto,
 semineces volvit multos, aut agmina curru
 proterit, aut raptas fugientibus ingerit hastas.
 Qualis apud gelidi cum flumina concitus Hebri
 sanguineus Mavors clipeo increpat, atque furentes
 bella movens immittit equos: illi aequore aperto
 ante Notos Zephyrumque volant; gemit ultima pulsu
 Thraca pedum; circumque atrae Formidinis ora
 Iraeque Insidiaequae, dei comitatus, aguntur:
 talis equos alacer media inter proelia Turnus
fumantes sudore quatit, miserabile caesis

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hostibus insultans; spargit rapida ungula rores
 sanguineos, mixtaque cruor calcatur harena. 340
 Iamque neci Sthenelumque dedit Thamyrumque Pholumque,
 hunc congressus et hunc, illum eminus; eminus ambo
 Imbrasidas, Glaucum atque Laden, quos Imbrasmus ipse
 nutrierat Lycia paribusque ornaverat armis,
 vel conferre manum vel equo praevertere ventos. 345
 Parte alia media Eumedes in proelia fertur,
 antiqui proles bello praeclara Dolonis,
 nomine avum referens, animo manibusque parentem,
 qui quondam, castra ut Danaum speculator adiret,
 ausus Pelidae pretium sibi poscere currus; 350
 illum Tydides alio pro talibus ausis
 affecit pretio, nec equis aspirat Achillis.
 Hunc procul ut campo Turnus prospexit aperto,
 ante levi iaculo longum per inane secutus,
 sistit equos biuges et curru desilit, atque 355
 semianimi lapsoque supervenit, et pede collo
 impresso, dextrae mucronem extorquet et alto
 fulgentem tingit iugulo, atque haec insuper addit:
 'En agros et quam bello, Troiane, petisti,
 Hesperiam metire iacens: haec praemia qui me 360
 ferro ausi temptare ferunt, sic moenia condunt.'
 Huic comitem Asbyten coniecta cuspide mittit,
 Chloreaque Sybarimque Daretaque Thersilochumque
 et sternacis equi lapsum cervice Thymoeten.
 Ac velut Edoni Boreae cum spiritus alto 365
 insonat Aegaeo sequiturque ad litora fluctus,
 qua venti incubuere, fugam dant nubila caelo:
 sic Turno, quacumque viam secat, agmina cedunt
 conversaeque ruunt acies; fert impetus ipsum,
 et cristam adverso curru quatit aura volantem. 370
 Non tulit instantem Phegeus animisque frementem:
 obiecit sese ad currum et spumantia frenis
 ora citatorum dextra detorsit equorum.
 Dum trahitur pendetque iugis, hunc lata reiectum
 lancea consequitur, rumpitque infixâ bilicem 375
 loricam, et summum degustat vulnere corpus.
 Ille tamen clipeo obiecto conversus in hostem

ibat, et auxilium ducto mucrone petebat:
 cum rota praecipitem et procursu concitus axis
 impulit effunditque solo, Turnusque secutus
 imam inter galeam summi thoracis et oras
 abstulit ense caput, truncumque reliquit harenae.

Atque ea dum campis victor dat funera Turnus,
 interea Aenean Mnestheus et fidus Achates
 Ascaniusque comes castris statuere cruentum,
 alternos longa nitentem cuspide gressus.

Saevit, et infracta luctatur harundine telum
 eripere, auxilioque viam quae proxima poscit:
 ense secant lato vulnus, telique latebram
 rescindant penitus, seseque in bella remittant.

Iamque aderat Phoebus ante alios dilectus Iapyx
 Isides, acri quondam cui captus amore
 ipse suas artes, sua munera, laetus Apollo
 augurium citharamque dabat celeresque sagittas.

Ille ut depositi proferret fata parentis,
 scire potestates herbarum usumque medendi
 maluit et mutas agitare inglorius artes.

Stabat acerba fremens, ingentem nixus in hastam,
 Aeneas magno iuvenum et maerentis Iuli
 concursu, lacrimis immobilis. Ille retorto

Paeonium in morem senior succinctus amictu,
 multa manu medica Phoebeique potentibus herbis
 nequiquam trepidat, nequiquam spicula dextra
 sollicitat prensatque tenaci forcipe ferrum.

Nulla viam Fortuna regit, nihil auctor Apollo
 subvenit; et saevus campis magis ac magis horror
 crebrescit propiusque malum est. Iam pulvere caelum

stare vident: subeunt equites, et spicula castris
 densa cadunt mediis. It tristis ad aethera clamor
 bellantum iuvenum et duro sub Marte cadentum.

Hic Venus, indigno nati concussa dolore,
 dictamnum genetrix Cretaea carpit ab Ida,
 puberibus caulem foliis et flore comantem
 purpureo; non illa feris incognita capris
 gramina, cum tergo volucres haesere sagittae.

Hoc Venus, obscuro faciem circumdata nimbo,

detulit; hoc fusum labris splendentibus amnem
 inficit occulte medicans, spargitque salubres
 ambrosiae sucos et odoriferam panaceam.
 Fovit ea vulnus lymphæ longævus Iapex 420
 ignorans, subitoque omnis de corpore fugit
 quippe dolor, omnis stetit imo vulnere sanguis;
 iamque secuta manum nullo cogente sagitta
 excidit, atque novae rediere in pristina vires.
 'Arma citi properate viro; quid statis?' Iapex 425
 conclamat primusque animos accendit in hostem.
 'Non hæc humanis opibus, non arte magistra
 proveniunt neque te, Aenea, mea dextera servat:
 maior agit deus atque opera ad maiora remittit.'
 Ille avidus pugnae suras incluserat auro 430
 hinc atque hinc, oditque moras hastamque coruscat.
 Postquam habilis lateri clipeus loricaque tergo est,
 Ascanium fuis circum complectitur armis,
 summaque per galeam delibans oscula fatur:
 'Disce, puer, virtutem ex me verumque laborem, 435
 fortunam ex aliis. Nunc te mea dextera bello
 defensum dabit et magna inter præmia ducet.
 Tu facito, mox cum matura adoleverit aetas,
 sis memor, et te animo repetentem exempla tuorum
 et pater Aeneas et avunculus excitet Hector.' 440
 Hæc ubi dicta dedit, portis sese extulit ingens,
 telum immane manu quatiens; simul agmine denso
 Antheusque Mnestheusque ruunt omnisque relictis
 turba fluit castris: tum caeco pulvere campus
 miscetur pulsuque pedum tremit excita tellus. 445
 Vidit ab adverso venientes aggere Turnus,
 videre Ausonii, gelidusque per ima cucurrit
 ossa tremor: prima ante omnes Iuturna Latinos
 audit agnovitque sonum, et tremefacta refugit.
 Ille volat campoque atrum rapit agmen aperto. 450
 Qualis ubi ad terras abrupto sidere nimbus
 it mare per medium; miseris heu præscia longe
 horrescunt corda agricolis; dabit ille ruinas
 arboribus stragemque satis, ruet omnia late;
 ante volant sonitumque ferunt ad litora ventî: 455

talis in adversos ductor Rhoeteius hostes
 agmen agit, densi cuneis se quisque coactis
 agglomerant. Ferit ense gravem Thymbraeus Osinim,
 Tarchetium Mnestheus, Epulonem obtruncat Achates
 Ufentemque Gyas; cadit ipse Tolumnius augur, 460
 primus in adversos telum qui torserat hostes.
 Tollitur in caelum clamor, versique vicissim
 pulverulenta fuga Rutuli dant terga per agros.
 Ipse neque aversos dignatur sternere morti,
 nec pede congressos aequo nec tela ferentes 465
 insequitur: solum densa in caligine Turnum
 vestigat lustrans, solum in certamina poscit.
 Hoc concussa metu mentem Iuturna virago
 aurigam Turni media inter lora Metiscum
 excutit, et longe lapsum temone reliquit: 470
 ipsa subit manibusque undantes flectit habenas,
 cuncta gerens, vocemque et corpus et arma Metisci.
 Nigra velut magnas domini cum divitis aedes
 pervolat et pennis alta atria lustrat hirundo,
 pabula parva legens nidisque loquacibus escas, 475
 et nunc porticibus vacuis, nunc umida circum
 stagna sonat: similis medios Iuturna per hostes
 fertur equis, rapidoque volans obit omnia curru,
 iamque hic germanum iamque hic ostentat ovantem
 nec conferre manum patitur, volat avia longe. 480
 Haud minus Aeneas tortos legit obviis orbes,
 vestigatque virum et disiecta per agmina magna
 voce vocat. Quotiens oculos coniecit in hostem,
 alipedumque fugam cursu temptavit equorum,
 aversos totiens currus Iuturna retorsit. 485
 Heu quid agat? Vario nequiquam fluctuat aestu,
 diversaeque vocant animum in contraria curae.
 Huic Messapus, uti laeva duo forte gerebat
 lenta levis cursu praefixa hastilia ferro,
 horum unum certo contorquens dirigit ictu. 490
 Substitit Aeneas et se collegit in arma,
 poplite subsidens; apicem tamen incita summum
 hasta tulit summasque excussit vertice cristas.
 Tum vero assurgunt irae; insidiisque subactus,

diversos ubi sensit equos currumque referri, 495
 multa Iovem et laesi testatus foederis aras,
 iam tandem invadit medios, et Marte secundo
 terribilis saevam nullo discrimine caedem
 suscitât, irarumque omnes effundit habenas.

Quis mihi nunc tot acerba deus, quis carmine caedes 500
 diversas obitumque ducum, quos aequore toto
 inque vicem nunc Turnus agit, nunc Troïus heros,
 expediat? Tanton' placuit concurrere motu,
 Iuppiter, aeterna gentes in pace futuras?

Aeneas Rutulum Suconem (ea prima ruentes 505
 pugna loco statuit Teucros) haud multa morantem
 excipit in latus et, qua fata celerrima, crudum
 transadigit costas et crates pectoris ensem.

Turnus equo deiectum Amycum fratremque Dioren,
 congressus pedes, hunc venientem cuspidè longa, 510
 hunc mucrone ferit curruque abscissa duorum
 suspendit capita, et rorantia sanguine portat.

Ille Talon Tanaimque neci fortemque Cethegum,
 tres uno congressu, et maestum mittit Oniten,
 nomen Echionium matrisque genus Peridiaë; 515

hic fratres Lycia missos et Apollinis agris,
 et iuvenem exosum nequiquam, bella Menoeten,
 Arcada, piscosae cui circum flumina Lernaë
 ars fuerat pauperque domus, nec nota potentum
 munera conductaque pater tellure serebat. 520

Ac velut immissi diversis partibus ignes
 arentem in silvam et virgulta sonantia lauro;
 aut ubi decursu rapido de montibus altis
 dant sonitum spumosi amnes, et in aequora currunt
 quisque suum populatus iter: non segnius ambo 525
 Aeneas Turnusque ruunt per proelia; nunc nunc
 fluctuat ira intus, rumpuntur nescia vinci
 pectora, nunc totis in vulnera viribus itur.

Murranum hic, atavos et avorum antiqua sonantem
 nomina, per regesque actum genus omne Latinos, 530
 praecipitem scopulo atque ingentis turbine saxi
 excutit effunditque solo: hunc lora et iuga subter
provolvere rotae, crebro super ungula pulsu

incita nec domini memorum proculcat equorum.
 Ille ruenti Hyllō animisque immane frementi
 occurrit, telumque aurata ad tempora torquet:
 olli per galeam fixo stetit hasta cerebro.
 535
 Dextera nec tua te, Graium fortissime Cretheu,
 eripuit Turno. Nec di texere Cupencum
 Aenea veniente sui: dedit obvia ferro
 540
 pectora, nec misero clipei mora profuit aerei.
 Te quoque Laurentes viderunt, Aeole, campi
 oppetere et late terram consternere tergo.
 Occidis, Argivae quem non potuere phalanges
 sternere nec Priami regnorum eversor Achilles;
 545
 hic tibi mortis erant metae: domus alta sub Ida,
 Lyrnesi domus alta, solo Laurente sepulcrum.
 Totae adeo conversae acies, omnesque Latini,
 omnes Dardanidae, Mnestheus, acerque Serestus,
 et Messapus equum domitor, et fortis Asilas,
 550
 Tuscorumque phalanx, Evandrique Arcades alae,
 pro se quisque viri summa nituntur opum vi:
 nec mora nec requies, vasto certamine tendunt.
 Hic mentem Aeneae genetrix pulcherrima misit,
 iret ut ad muros, ubique adverteret agmen
 555
 ocius et subita turbaret clade Latinos.
 Ille ut vestigans diversa per agmina Turnum
 huc atque huc acies circumtulit, aspicit urbem
 immunem tanti belli atque impune quietam.
 Continuo pugnae accendit maioris imago:
 560
 Mnesthea Sergestumque vocat fortemque Serestum
 ductores tumultumque capit, quo cetera Teucrum
 concurrat legio, nec scuta aut spicula densi
 deponunt. Celso medius stans aggere fatur:
 'Ne qua meis esto dictis mora; Iuppiter hac stat;
 565
 neu quis ob inceptum subitum mihi segnior ito.
 Urbem hodie, causam belli, regna ipsa Latini,
 ni frenum accipere et victi parere fatentur,
 eruam et aequa solo fumantia culmina ponam.
 Scilicet exspectem, libeat dum proelia Turno
 570
 nostra pati rursusque velit concurrere victus?
Hoc caput, o cives, haec belli summa nefandi:

ferte faces propere foedusque repositae flammis.
 Dixerat, atque animis pariter certantibus omnes
 dant cuneum, densaque ad muros mole feruntur. 575
 Scalae improviso subitusque apparuit ignis.
 Discurrunt alii ad portas primosque trucidant,
 ferrum alii torquent et obumbrant aethera telis.
 Ipse inter primos dextram sub moenia tendit
 Aeneas, magnaque incusat voce Latinum, 580
 testaturque deos, iterum se ad proelia cogi,
 bis iam Italos hostes, haec altera foedera rumpi.
 Exoritur trepidos inter discordia cives:
 urbem alii reserare iubent et pandere portas
 Dardanidis, ipsumque trahunt in moenia regem, 585
 arma ferunt alii et pergunt defendere muros.
 Inclusas ut cum latebroso in pumice pastor
 vestigavit apes fumoque implevit amaro:
 illae intus trepidae rerum per cerea castra
 discurrunt, magnisque acuunt stridoribus iras; 590
 volvitur ater odor tectis, tum murmure caeco
 intus saxa sonant, vacuas it fumus ad auras.
 Accidit haec fessis etiam fortuna Latinis,
 quae totam luctu concussit funditus urbem.
 Regina ut tectis venientem prospicit hostem, 595
 innessi muros, ignes ad tecta volare,
 nusquam acies contra Rutulas, nulla agmina Turni:
 infelix pugnae iuvenem in certamine credit
 exstinctum et, subito mentem turbata dolore,
 se causam clamat crimenque caputque malorum, 600
 multaque per maestum demens effata furorem,
 purpureos moritura manu discindit amictus,
 et nodum informis leti trabe nequit ab alta.
 Quam cladem miserae postquam accepere Latinae,
 filia prima manu flavos Lavinia crines 605
 et roseas laniata genas, tum cetera circum
 turba furit: resonant late plangoribus aedes.
 Hinc totam infelix vulgatur fama per urbem.
 Demittunt mentes; it scissa veste Latinus,
 coniugis attonitus fati urbisque ruina, 610

canitiem immundo perfusam pulvere turpans.
[Multaque se incusat, qui non acceperit ante
Dardanium Aenean generumque asciverit ultro.]

Interea extremo bellator in aequore Turnus
palantes sequitur paucos iam segnior, atque 615
iam minus atque minus successu laetus equorum.

Attulit hunc illi caecis terroribus aura
commixtum clamorem, arrectasque impulit aures
confusae sonus urbis et illaetabile murmur.
'Hei mihi! quid tanto turbantur moenia luctu? 620
quisve ruit tantus diversa clamor ab urbe?'

Sic ait adductisque amens subsistit habenis.
Atque huic, in faciem soror ut conversa Metisci
aurigae currumque et equos et lora regebat,
talibus occurrit dictis: 'Hac, Turne, sequamur 625
Trojugenas, qua prima viam victoria pandit;
sunt alii, qui tecta manu defendere possint.

Ingruit Aeneas Italis et proelia miscet:
et nos saeva manu mittamus funera Teucris.
Nec numero inferior pugnae nec honore recedes.' 630
Turnus ad haec:

'O soror, et dudum agnovi, cum prima per artem
foedera turbasti teque haec in bella dedisti,
et nunc nequiquam fallis dea. Sed quis Olympo
demissam tantos voluit te ferre labores? 635
an fratris miseri letum ut crudele videres?

nam quid ago? aut quae iam spondet Fortuna salutem?
Vidi oculos ante ipse meos me voce vocantem
Murranum, quo non superat mihi carior alter,
oppetere ingentem atque ingenti vulnere victum. 640

Occidit infelix nostrum ne dedecus Ufens
aspiceret; Teucri potiuntur corpore et armis.
Exscindine domos (id rebus defuit unum)
perpetiar, dextra nec Drancis dicta refellam?
Terga dabo et Turnum fugientem haec terra videbit? 645

Usque adeone mori miserum est? vos o mihi Manes
este boni, quoniam Superis aversa voluntas!
Sancta ad vos anima atque istius inscia culpae
descendam, magnorum haud umquam indignus avorum.'

Vix ea fatus erat : medios volat ecce per hostes 650
 vectus equo spumante Saces, adversa sagitta
 saucius ora, ruitque implorans nomine Turnum :
 'Turne, in te suprema salus : miserere tuorum.
 Fulminat Aeneas armis, summasque minatur
 deiecturum arces Italum excidioque daturum ; 655
 iamque faces ad tecta volant. In te ora Latini,
 in te oculos referunt ; mussat rex ipse Latinus,
 quos generos vocet aut quae sese ad foedera flectat.
 Praeterea regina, tui fidissima, dextra
 occidit ipsa sua lucemque exterrita fugit. 660
 Soli pro portis Messapus et acer Atinas
 sustentant aciem. Circum hos utrimque phalanges
 stant densae, strictisque seges mucronibus horret
 ferrea : tu currum deserto in gramine versas.'
 Obstupuit varia confusus imagine rerum 665
 Turnus et obtutu tacito stetit. Aestuat ingens
 uno in corde pudor mixtoque insania luctu
 et furiis agitatus amor et conscia virtus.
 Ut primum discussae umbrae et lux reddita menti,
 ardentes oculorum orbes ad moenia torsit 670
 turbidus, eque rotis magnam respexit ad urbem.
 Ecce autem flammis inter tabulata volutus
 ad caelum undabat vertex turrimque tenebat,
 turrim, compactis trabibus quam eduxerat ipse
 subdideratque rotas pontesque instraverat altos. 675
 'Iam iam fata, soror, superant ; absiste morari ;
 quo deus et quo dura vocat Fortuna, sequamur.
 Stat conferre manum Aeneae, stat quidquid acerbi est
 morte pati ; neque me indecorem, germana, videbis
 amplius. Hunc, oro, sine me furere ante furorem.' 680
 Dixit, et e curru saltum dedit ocus arvis,
 perque hostes, per tela ruit maestamque sororem
 deserit ac rapido cursu media agmina rumpit.
 Ac veluti montis saxum de vertice praeceps
 cum ruit avulsum vento, seu turbidus imber 685
 proluit aut annis solvit sublapsa vetustas,
 fertur in abruptum magno mons improbus actu
 exsultatque solo, silvas armenta virosque

involvens secum : disiecta per agmina Turnus
 sic urbis ruit ad muros, ubi plurima fuso
 sanguine terra madet striduntque hastilibus auras,
 significatque manu et magno simul incipit ore :
 'Parcite iam, Rutuli, et vos tela inhibete, Latini;
 quaecumque est Fortuna, mea est : me verius unum
 pro vobis foedus luere et decernere ferro.'
 Discessere omnes medii spatiumque dedere.

At pater Aeneas, audito nomine Turni,
 deserit et muros et summas deserit arces,
 praecipitatque moras omnes, opera omnia rumpit,
 laetitia exsultans, horrendumque intonat armis :
 quantus Athos, aut quantus Eryx, aut ipse coruscis
 cum fremit ilicibus quantus gaudetque nivali
 vertice se attollens pater Appenninus ad auras.
 Iam vero et Rutuli certatim et Troes et omnes
 convertere oculos Itali, quique alta tenebant
 moenia quique imos pulsabant ariete muros,
 armaque deposuere umeris. Stupet ipse Latinus
 ingentes genitos diversis partibus orbis
 inter se coiisse viros et cernere ferro.
 Atqui illi, ut vacuo patuerunt aequore campi,
 procurso rapido, coniectis eminus hastis,
 invadunt Martem clipeis atque aere sonoro.
 Dat gemitum tellus ; tum crebros ensibus ictus
 congeminant : fors et virtus miscentur in unum.
 Ac velut ingenti Sila summove Taburno
 cum duo conversis inimica in proelia tauri
 frontibus incurrunt ; pavidi cessere magistri ;
 stat pecus omne metu' mutum, mussantque iuvencae,
 quis nemori imperitet, quem tota armenta sequantur ;
 illi inter sese multa vi vulnera miscent,
 cornuaque obnixa infigunt et sanguine largo
 colla armosque lavant ; gemitu nemus omne remugit :
 non aliter Tros Aeneas et Daunius heros
 concurrunt clipeis ; ingens fragor aethera complet.
 Iuppiter ipse duas aequato examine lances
 sustinet, et fata imponit diversa duorum,
 quem damnet labor et quo vergat pondere letum.

Emicat hic, impune putans, et corpore toto
 alte sublatum consurgit Turnus in ensem
 et ferit: exclamant Troes trepidique Latini, 730
 arrectaeque amborum acies. At perfidus ensis
 frangitur in medioque ardentem deserit ictu,—
 ni fuga subsidio subeat. Fugit ocior Euro,
 ut capulum ignotum dextramque aspexit inermem.
 Fama est praecipitem, cum prima in proelia iunctos 735
 conscendebat equos, patrio mucrone relicto,
 dum trepidat, ferrum aurigae rapuisse Metisci.
 Idque diu, dum terga dabant palantia Teucri,
 sufficit: postquam arma dei ad Vulcania ventum est,
 mortalis mucro glacies ceu futilis ictu 740
 dissiluit; fulva resplendent fragmina harena:
 ergo amens diversa fuga petit aequora Turnus
 et nunc huc, inde huc incertos implicat orbes;
 undique enim densa Teucri includere corona,
 atque hinc vasta palus, hinc ardua moenia cingunt. 745
 Nec minus Aeneas, quamquam tardata sagitta
 interdum genua impediunt cursumque recusant,
 insequitur trepidique pedem pede fervidus urget:
 inclusum veluti si quando flumine nactus
 cervum aut puniceae saeptum formidine pennae 750
 venator cursu canis et latratibus instat;
 ille autem, insidiis et ripa territus alta,
 mille fugit refugitque vias; at vividus Umber
 haeret hians, iam iamque tenet, similisque tenenti
 increpuit malis, morsuque elusus inani est. 755
 Tum vero exoritur clamor, ripaeque lacusque
 responsant circa et caelum tonat omne tumultu.
 Ille simul fugiens Rutulos simul increpat omnes,
 nomine quemque vocans, notumque efflagitat ensem.
 Aeneas mortem contra praesensque minatur 760
 exitium, si quisquam adeat, terretque trementes
 excisurum urbem minitans et saucius instat.
 Quinque orbes explent cursu totidemque retexunt
 huc illuc: neque enim levia aut ludicra petuntur
 praemia, sed Turni de vita et sanguine certant. 765
Fortē sacer Fauno foliis oleaster amaris

hic steterat, nautis olim venerabile lignum,
 servati ex undis ubi figere dona solebant
 Laurenti divo et votas suspendere vestes;
 sed stirpem Teucris nullo discrimine sacrum 770
 sustulerant, puro ut possent concurrere campo.
 Hic hasta Aeneae stabat, huc impetus illam
 detulerat fixam et lenta radice tenebat.
 incubuit voluitque manu convellere ferrum
 Dardanides teloque sequi, quem prendere cursu 775
 non poterat. Tum vero amens formidine Turnus
 'Faune, precor, miserere' inquit 'tuque optima ferrum
 terra tene, colui vestros si semper honores,
 quos contra Aeneadae bello fecere profanos.'
 Dixit opemque dei non cassa in vota vocavit. 780
 Namque diu luctans lentoque in stirpe moratus
 viribus haud ullis valuit discludere morsus
 roboris Aeneas. Dum nititur acer et instat,
 rursus in aurigae faciem mutata Metisci
 procurrit fratrique ensem dea Daunias reddit. 785
 Quod Venus audaci Nymphae indignata licere
 accessit telumque alta ab radice revellit.
 Olli sublimes, armis animisque relecti,
 hic gladio fidens, hic acer et arduus hasta,
 assistunt contra certamine Martis anhelii. 790

Iunonem interea rex omnipotentis Olympi
 alloquitur fulva pugnans de nube tuentem:
 'Quae iam finis erit, coniunx? quid denique restat?
 Indigetem Aeneas scis ipsa et scire fateris
 deberi caelo fatisque ad sidera tolli. 795
 Quid struis? aut qua spe gelidis in nubibus haeres?
 mortalin' decuit violari vulnere divum,
 aut ensem (quid enim sine te Iuturna valeret?)
 ereptum reddi Turno et vim crescere victis?
 Desine iam tandem precibusque inflectere nostris; 800
 ne te tantus edit tacitam dolor et mihi curae
 saepe tuo dulci tristes ex ore recurrant.
 Ventum ad supremum est. Terris agitare vel undis
 Troianos potuisti, infandum accendere bellum,
 deformare domum et luctu miscere hymenaeos:

ulterius temptare veto.' Sic Iuppiter orsus;
 sic dea summisso contra Saturnia vultu:
 'Ista quidem quia nota mihi tua, magne, voluntas,
 Iuppiter, et Turnum et terras invita reliqui;
 nec tu me aëria solam nunc sede videres 810
 digna indigna pati, sed flammis cincta sub ipsa
 starem acie traheremque inimica in proelia Teucros.
 Iuturnam misero (fateor) succurrere fratri
 suasi et pro vita maiora audere probavi,
 non ut tela tamen, non ut contenderet arcum: 815
 adiuro Stygii caput implacabile fontis,
 una superstitio superis quae reddita divis.
 Et nunc cedo equidem pugnasque exosa relinquo.
 Illud te, nulla fati quod lege tenetur,
 pro Latio obtestor, pro maiestate tuorum: 820
 cum iam conubiis pacem felicibus (esto)
 component, cum iam leges et foedera iungent,
 ne vetus indigenas nomen mutare Latinos,
 neu Troas fieri iubeas Teucrosque vocari,
 aut vocem mutare viros aut vertere vestem. 825
 Sit Latium, sint Albani per saecula reges,
 sit Romana potens Itala virtute propago:
 occidit, occideritque sinas cum nomine Troia.'
 Olli subridens hominum rerumque repertor:
 'Es germana Iovis Saturnique altera proles; 830
 irarum tantos volvis sub pectore fluctus.
 Verum age et inceptum frustra summitte furorem:
 do quod vis, et me victusque volensque remitto.
 Sermonem Ausonii patrium moresque tenebunt,
 utque est nomen erit; commixti corpore tantum 835
 subsident Teucri. Morem ritusque sacrorum
 adiiciam faciamque omnes uno ore Latinos.
 Hinc genus Ausonio mixtum quod sanguine surget,
 supra homines, supra ire deos pietate videbis,
 nec gens ulla tuos aequè celebrabit honores.'
 annuit his Iuno et mentem laetata retorsit. 840
 Interea excedit caelo nubemque relinquit.

*His actis aliud Genitor secum ipse volutat,
 Iuturnamque parat fratris dimittere ab armis.*

Dicuntur geminae pestes cognomine Dirae, 845
 quas et Tartaream Nox intempesta Megaeram
 uno eodemque tulit partu, paribusque revinxit
 serpentum spiris ventosasque addidit alas.
 Hae Iovis ad solium saevique in limine regis
 apparent, acuuntque metum mortalibus aegris, 850
 si quando letum horrificum morbosque deum rex
 molitur, meritas aut bello territat urbes.
 Harum unam celerem demisit ab aethere summo
 Iuppiter inque omen Iuturnae occurrere iussit.
 Illa volat celerique ad terram turbine fertur. 855
 Non secus ac nervo per nubem impulsa sagitta,
 armatam saevi Parthus quam felle veneni,
 Parthus sive Cydon, telum immedicabile, torsit,
 stridens et celeres incognita transilit umbras :
 talis se sata Nocte tulit terrasque petivit. 860
 Postquam acies videt Iliacas atque agmina Turni,
 alitis in parvae subitam collecta figuram,
 quae quondam in bustis aut culminibus desertis
 nocte sedens serum canit importuna per umbras,
 hanc versa in faciem Turni se pestis ob ora 865
 fertque refertque sonans, clipeumque everberat alis.
 Olli membra novus solvit formidine torpor,
 arrectaeque horrore comae, et vox faucibus haesit.
 At procul ut Dirae stridorem agnovit et alas,
 infelix crines scindit Iuturna solutos, 870
 unguibus ora soror foedans et pectora pugnis :
 'Quid nunc te tua, Turne, potest germana iuvare?
 aut quid iam durae superat mihi? qua tibi lucem
 arte morer? talin' possum me opponere monstro?
 iam iam linquo acies. Ne me terrete timentem, 875
 obscenae volucres : alarum verbera nosco
 letalemque sonum, nec fallunt iussa superba
 magnanimi Iovis. Haec pro virginitate reponit?
 quo vitam dedit aeternam? cur mortis adempta est
 conditio? possem tantos finire dolores 880
 nunc certe et misero fratri comes ire per umbras!
 immortalis ego? aut quicquam mihi dulce meorum
 te sine, frater, erit? o quae satis ima dehiscat

terra mihi Manesque deam demittat ad imos?'
 Tantum effata caput glauco contextit amictu 885
 multa gemens, et se fluvio dea condidit alto.

Aeneas instat contra telumque coruscat
 ingens arboreum et saevo sic pectore fatur:
 'Quae nunc deinde mora est? aut quid iam, Turne, retractas?
 Non cursu, saevis certandum est comminus armis. 890

Verte omnes tete in facies et contrahe quidquid
 sive animis sive arte vales: opta ardua pennis
 astra sequi, clausumque cava te condere terra.
 Ille caput quassans 'Non me tua fervida terrent
 dicta, ferox: di me terrent et Iuppiter hostis.' 895

Nec plura effatus saxum circumspicit ingens,
 saxum antiquum ingens, campo quod forte iacebat,
 limes agro positus, litem ut discerneret arvis.
 Vix illud lecti bis sex cervice subirent,
 qualia nunc hominum producit corpora tellus: 900
 ille manu raptum trepida torquebat in hostem
 altior insurgens et cursu concitus heros.

Sed neque currentem se nec cognoscit euntem,
 tollentemve manus saxumve immane moventem;
 genua labant, gelidus concrevit frigore sanguis. 905

Tum lapis ipse viri, vacuum per inane volutus,
 nec spatium evasit totum neque pertulit ictum.
 Ac velut in somnis, oculos ubi languida pressit
 nocte quies, nequiquam avidos extendere cursus
 velle videmur, et in mediis conatibus aegri 910

succidimus, non lingua valet, non corpore notae
 sufficiunt vires, nec vox aut verba sequuntur:
 sic Turno, quacumque viam virtute petivit,
 successum dea dira negat. Tum pectore sensus
 vertuntur varii. Rutulos aspectat et urbem, 915

cunctaturque metu, telumque instare tremescit:
 nec quo se eripiat, nec qua vi tendat in hostem,
 nec currus usquam videt aurigamve sororem.
 Cunctanti telum Aeneas fatale coruscat,
 sortitus fortunam oculis, et corpore toto 920

eminus intorquet. Murali concita numquam
tormento sic saxa fremunt, nec fulmine tanti

dissultant crepitus. Volat atri turbinis instar
 exitium dirum hasta ferens, orasque recludit
 loricae et clipei extremos septemplex orbes. 925
 Per medium stridens transit femur. Incidit ictus
 ingens ad terram duplicato poplite Turnus.
 Consurgunt gemitu Rutuli, totusque remugit
 mons circum, et vocem late nemora alta remittunt.
 Ille humiles supplex oculos, dextramque precantem 930
 protendens 'Equidem merui nec deprecor' inquit;
 'utere sorte tua. Miseri te si qua parentis
 tangere cura potest, oro (fuit et tibi talis
 Anchises genitor), Dauni miserere senectae,
 et me, seu corpus spoliatum lumine mavis, 935
 redde meis. Vicisti, et victum tendere palmas
 Ausonii videre; tua est Lavinia coniunx:
 ulterius ne tende odiis.' Stetit acer in armis
 Aeneas, volvens oculos, dextramque repressit;
 et iam iamque magis cunctantem flectere sermo 940
 coeperat, infelix umero cum apparuit alto
 balteus et notis fulserunt cingula bullis
 Pallantis pueri, victum quem vulnere Turnus
 straverat atque umeris inimicum insigne gerebat.
 Ille, oculis postquam saevi monimenta doloris 945
 exuviasque hausit, furiis accensus et ira
 terribilis 'Tunc hinc spoliis indute meorum
 eripiare mihi? Pallas te hoc vulnere, Pallas
 immolat et poenam scelerato ex sanguine sumit.'
 Hoc dicens ferrum adverso sub pectore condit 950
 fervidus. Ast illi solvuntur frigore membra,
 vitaeque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras.

AENEID.



NOTES TO BOOK X.

The council of the gods (ll. 1-117) with which this book opens is an imitation of Homer (Iliad iv, viii *ad init.*), bearing no particular relation to the needs of the story: Jupiter's summing up being merely a declaration that destiny must have its course. The action of the poem continues in the return of Aeneas from his expedition to Caere (viii. 454-607), in command of an Etruscan force; a catalogue of which is given (ll. 163-214) on the model of that in Iliad ii. He is met on his way by the sea-nymphs, formerly Trojan ships (ix. 120), one of whom, Cymodoce, encourages him (ll. 219-250). He finds the camp hard pressed by the Rutulians (ll. 118-145) and effects a landing (ll. 287-307): then follows a battle on the shore, in which Pallas, after brilliant exploits, is slain by Turnus (ll. 308-509), whose insulting arrogance prepares the way for sympathy with the retribution of Book XII. Aeneas rushes to avenge Pallas (ll. 510-635); but Juno, fearing for Turnus' safety, obtains from Jupiter a reprieve from the death which is assumed to await him, and flying before him in the likeness of Aeneas entices him on to a ship which bears him off to Ardea (ll. 606-688). Mezentius meanwhile, after great exploits, is encountered by Aeneas, but is saved by the devotion and death of his son Lausus (ll. 619-832): the conduct and language of Aeneas over the fallen youth, full of dignity and pity, being drawn in strong contrast to that of Turnus over Pallas (see Nettleship, 'Suggestions,' p. 22). Mezentius, receiving his son's corpse, returns to the battle and dies at the hand of Aeneas (ll. 833-908): a pathetic interest being given to the last hours of this savage barbarian by dwelling on the natural traits of love for his son and fondness for his horse; with which Prof. Nettleship ('Suggestions,' p. 23) well compares Herodotus' story of Periander, son of Cypselus (iii. 50 sqq.), whose cruelty is redeemed by love for his son Lycophron.

1. *interea*, as in xi. 1, expresses transition from one scene to another, or resumption of the story after a pause. 'The hall of Olympus opens' is an expression for daybreak; so *clauso Olympo* of sunset, i. 374.

5. *bipatentibus*, 'double-gated,' i. e. with entrance in front and behind—the characteristic according to Vitruvius, of the *hypæthrus*, the largest variety of temple. Others, less probably, translate, 'with folding-doors,' i. e. 'with spacious entrance.'

7. *iniquis*, 'hostile,' 'spiteful.'

8. This line has been thought inconsistent with i. 263, where Jupiter predicts Aeneas' wars in Italy. But that passage is rather a forecast of what destiny will bring about than a command; nor need *abnueram* here imply more than 'twas not with my will.' Cp. the resolve of Jupiter below, ll. 105 sqq., to let destiny take its course: *fata viam invenient*.

9, 10. 'Whence this strife in defiance of my mandate?' What terror has driven these or those to gird on arms and wake the fray? *hos, hos*, i. e. the Trojans and Italians. The infinitive clause (*hos sequi . . . laessere*) is the object of *suasit*; the more usual construction being that of Ecl. i. 53-56 *tibi suadebit . . . inire*; or in prose *ut eas*.

11-15. 'The proper day of fight will come—provoke it not—when fierce Carthage shall one day unbar the Alps and hurl great ruin on the towers of Rome; then may you strive in feud, then ravage at your will. Now let be, and ratify the covenant that I approve.' *olim*, of time to come, as i. 203 *forsan et haec olim meminisse iuvabit*. *Alpes immittet apertas* is a bold poetical phrase which hardly admits of comment or illustration. The meaning is virtually *exitum immittet per Alpes apertas*. *res rapuisse*, a graphic expression for a state of war. *placitum*, sc. *mihi*.

16. *Venus aurea*, 'lovely Venus,' χρυσή Ἀφροδίτη Il. iii. 64, Od. iv. 14, etc.

19. *sit*, deliberative subj., 'what else can there be.'

24. *aggeribus murorum*, 'the rampart of the walls'—i. e. the lofty walls. *murorum* is the reading of the majority of the MSS.; but *moerorum*, the ancient orthography, which is found in some MSS., and attested by Servius, is perhaps right.

28. *Arpi*, in Apulia, is called Aetolian, as founded by the Aetolian Diomedes, who settled there after the Trojan war. The Latins had sent an embassy to him to ask for aid against his old enemies the Trojans (viii. 9).

29, 30. 'My wounds, forsooth, have still to bleed: I, thine offspring, am delaying a mortal sword.' *restant*, of what remains for completion, 'my wounding is not yet done with;' cp. Ov. Met. xiv. 439 *saevi restare pericula ponti*. *demoror*, bitterly ironical, as though she owed an apology to her mortal opponents for keeping them waiting, and not going at once to be wounded.

31. *pace*, 'leave;' *pace tua*, 'with your permission,' being a common Roman phrase.

33. *responsa*, prophecies of the future had been given by Jupiter (i. 254 foll.), Apollo (iii. 154, 374), the shade of Hector (ii. 289), of Creusa (v. 776), of Anchises (v. 724).

35. *condere*, 'compose,' fate being regarded as a book : 'write destiny anew.'

36-38. *exustas classes*, the Trojan matrons, at the instigation of Juno, set fire to the fleet while in Sicily : but only four ships were actually burnt (v. 605 foll.). *ventos excitos*, the storm which Æolus was induced by Juno to raise, and which wrecked the Trojans as they were sailing from Sicily (i. 50 foll.). *aetam nubibus Irim*, 'sent down from heaven.' Iris was twice sent down by Juno (1) to urge the matrons to burn the ships (v. 605 foll.), (2) to urge Turnus to attack the Trojan camp (ix. 2).

40. *sors rerum*, 'this quarter of the world : ' *sors* denotes the province or department which falls to a magistrate by lot (*sors urbana*, Liv. xxii. 35 ; *sors iuris dicundi*, Cic. Mur. § 41 ; *Asiae sors*, Tac. Ann. iii. 32), and is here applied to one of the three divisions of the universe for which the sons of Saturn cast lots. *movet*, sc. Juno. *superis immissa*, sc. *est*, 'has been let loose on those above,' i.e. the dwellers on earth.

42, 43. 'Tis not for empire now I fear ; that was our hope from thee (*ista*) while fortune lasted : be victory with whom thou wilt.'

46. *excidia* is probably from *excindo* (*scīd-*). If from *excido* (*cīd*, *scīd*), it must be scanned as a trisyllable by synizesis.

47. *nepotem*, 'my grandson,' Aeneas being son of Venus.

48-50. *sane*, ironical ; 'yea, let Aeneas be tossed on unknown waters.' *hunc*, Ascanius.

51. *Amathūs*, = Ἀμαθούς.

52. *Idaliae*, gen. sing., as i. 693. The usual name of the town was 'Idalium' (l. 86 below, i. 681).

54. *inde*, from Amathus, etc., where Ascanius is to retire.

57. *exhausta*, 'drained to the bottom,' 'endured to the end.'

58. *recidiva*, 'revived, 'restored'—a Virgilian use (cp. iv. 344, vii. 322) of the word, which elsewhere = 'recurring.'

61. *revolvere*, 'to repeat the course of Troy's misfortunes ;' cp. *volvere casus* i. 9.

64. *obductum*, 'concealed ;' cp. Cic. Leg. Agr. (in Rullum) iii. 2. 4 *refricare obductam reipublicae cicatricem*.

68. *Cassandreae impulsus furis*, a contemptuous comment on the previous line : the oracles received by Aeneas she calls 'ravings of Cassandra.'

69. *hortati*, i.e. Juno and the gods on her side.

70, 71. *summam belli*, 'the fortunes of the war ;' cp. *summa rerum*. *fidem agitare*, 'to disturb the loyalty' of the Tyrrhenes, referring to the alliance of Aeneas with the Tuscans, who had revolted from their tyrant Mezentius, as described in Book VIII.

72, 73. 'What god, pray, drove him to his hurt, what cruel force of mine? where is Juno's hand in this, or Iris sent from heaven?' *fraudem*, 'hurt,' as in legal terms *fraus esto*, *fraudi esse* ; cp. Cic. Cluent. 33. 91 *quae res nemini umquam fraudi fuit*.

76. **Pilumnus**, a Latin god, the mythic ancestor of Turnus. **Venilia**, a sea-nymph. The general sense of the line is, 'though he is sprung from Italian gods.' **avus**, here loosely for 'forefather.'

77. **quid**, etc., 'what think you of this, that the Trojans,' etc.

78. **iugo premere**, metaphorical, 'are putting their yoke upon.'

79. **soceros**, **pactas**, rhetorical plurals. The reference is to Lavinia, who had previously been betrothed to Turnus, but was promised to Aeneas by Latinus.

80. 'Ask peace with suppliant hand, yet arm his ships for fight' (as in the voyage up the Tiber to Pallanteum, viii. 92). **pacem orare manu** refers to the olive-branch with **vittae** carried in the hand, vii. 236.

81-82. In Homer, Aphrodite rescues Aeneas by throwing her garment over him (Il. v. 315), and it is Apollo who hides him in a cloud (ib. 344). **potes**, present, implying that such power is still hers; 'Your power can steal . . .'

83. When the ships of Aeneas reached Italy, they were changed into sea-nymphs by Cybele, from whose forest in Ida they had been built (see ix. 80). Juno credits Venus with the act, though it was really Cybele's.

85-87. Juno quotes the different points of Venus' speech, and makes a contemptuous comment on each. 'Aeneas is absent through ignorance: let him reap the fruits of his folly. You have pleasant retreats like Paphos and Idalium: why then leave your province to engage in war.' **gravidam bellis**, lit. 'pregnant with wars:' cp. iv. 229 *gravidam imperiis Italiam*.

88 foll., I was not the cause of these troubles, but Paris, who at your instigation carried off Helen.

88. **fluxas**, 'frail,' 'perishing;' a curious instance of perfect participle from intransitive **fluo**: similar examples are *titubata* v. 332, *cretus* iv. 191, *desuetus* ii. 509, *placitus* iv. 38.

91. **foedera solvere furto**, 'break the league of peace by treachery,' i. e. by the rape of Helen.

92. **expugnavit**, 'took Sparta by storm,' a rhetorical exaggeration. Paris came as a guest to Sparta, but she represents his voyage as an invasion.

94. **querellis**, ablative of manner.

96-99. 'Thus pleaded Juno; and all the dwellers in heaven gave divers murmurs of assent (i. e. to Juno or Venus): like the sound of rising blasts (**flamina prima**) pent within a forest, rolling low murmurs that speak to sailors of a coming storm.' **caeca**, 'low,' 'hidden from the ear:' strictly of what is hidden from sight, but language often confuses the impressions made on different senses.

102, 103. **solo**, abl. of respect, 'shaken in its foundations.' **posuere**, 'abated,' 'fell,' intransitive, as vii. 27 *cum venti posuere*. **placida**, proleptic—'Ocean smooths his waters into rest.'

107-113. 'What each one's fortune is to-day, what path of hope each treads (be he Trojan or Rutulian), will be nought to me; whether it be

Italian destiny that holds the (Trojan) camp in siege, or fatal error of Troy and warnings of a foe. Nor spare I the Rutulians (from this law that each must take their chance). Each one's own deeds shall bring him toil or success. Jove rules alike for all: and Fate shall find its course.' *secat apem*, a curious phrase, is most probably an extension of such expressions as *secare viam* (vi. 890), and = 'what hope he pursues.' *suat*, archaic subj. of verb *sum*, formed like *fui*, etc. from root *fu*, and found in Plautus, Terence, and Lucretius. *nullo discrimine habebo*, lit. 'I will hold him in no difference.' *fatis Italum*, destiny favourable to the Italians. *monitis sinistris*, probably does not refer to any special event, but denotes generally 'foolish advice.'

113-115. *Stygii . . . Olympum*, repeated from ix. 104-106.

118, 119. *portis*, local ablative. *circum*, adverbial. *instant sternere*, 'press forward to slay,' a rather unusual construction, cp. ii. 627 *instant crueret*.

122. *rara corona*, 'a thin ring' (of defenders).

123. *Hicetaonius*, 'son of Hicetaon:' cp. *Agamemnonius* iv. 471, *Lycaonius* x. 749.

126. *alta*, 'lofty:' not, as Con. suggests, 'noble.'

131. *moliri ignem*, 'hurl the fire brand:' cp. G. i. 329 *fulmina molitur dextra*. The verb is used of various kinds of actions which imply effort in the agent.

132. *iustissima cura*, as being the last hope of the race, and also because of his beauty.

133. *caput detectus honestum*, 'his comely head uncovered.' The accusative after the passive participle is in imitation of the Greek construction with passive or middle (*ἐκκεκομμένος τὸν ὀφθαλμόν, προβεβλημένος τὴν ἀσπίδα*). Cp. Ecl. iii. 106 *inscripti nomina regum flores*, Hor. Sat. i. 6. 74 *pueri laevo suspensi oculos tabulamque lacerto*. Ascanius is here compared to a gem set in gold (*fulvum quae dividit aurum*), or ivory in wood; cp. the somewhat parallel simile in i. 592, 593, where, however, it is the setting, not the gem or ivory, which is emphasised.

136. *buxo aut*, for the hiatus see Introd. p. xviii. The rhythm of the line is Greek throughout.

140. *vulnera dirigere*, 'aiming wounds,' *vulnus* being used poetically instead of the weapon, as ix. 745 *vulnus detorsit*.

141. *Maeconia generose domo*, 'noble offspring of a Lydian house': *domo* abl. of origin. For the hiatus see Introd. p. xviii.

144. *aggere with pulsi*, 'the glory of having driven Turnus from the rampart.'

145. *urbi*, i. e. Capua.

146, 147. The battle was over (*contulerant*), and in the night following Aeneas was on his way (*secabat*) back from Tarcho, where the story left him in viii. 607.

148. *ingressus*, sc. *est*. *castris*, dat. after *ingressus*, a rare

struction. Con. makes *ingressus* a participle, regarding ll. 148-153 (*ut . . . preces*) as a temporal clause, and beginning the principal clause at *haud sit mora*. But this would be very clumsy.

150-152. *quidve*, etc., 'what boon he asks, what offers in return.' *violenta*, the characteristic quality of Turnus; the epithet is applied to no one else by Virgil. *humanis*, etc., 'bids him think what surety human fortunes can feel'—i. e. how little trust can be placed in their permanence. Aeneas points out that Tarcho may one day want help himself.

154, 155. *ferit*, cp. *icere foedus*; a victim being struck to mark the conclusion of a treaty. *libera fati*, 'quit of fate,' 'their destiny fulfilled'—i. e. by choosing a foreign leader according to the oracle (viii. 502). For the construction cp. Hor. A. P. 212 *liber laborum*; Lucan. iv. 384 *curarum liber*. *gens Lydia*, the Etruscans, who were supposed to have been originally settlers from Lydia.

156. For the hiatus see Introd. p. xviii.

157, 158. *rostr* . . . *leones*, 'with Phrygian lions joined to its beak below.' For the construction see on l. 133 above. The lions are carved or painted on each side of the lower part of the prow from which the *rostrum* projected: and above, on the upper part of the prow, is the distinctive emblem (*insigne*) of the ship, answering to our figure-head—in this case a head or figure personifying Mount Ida. *Phrygios*, because lions drew the car of the Phrygian goddess Cybele, who was the special guardian of the Trojan fleet (ix. 80 foll.).

161, 162. *quaerit* . . . *iter*, 'asks the names of the stars, their pathway through the shades of night:' the stars are boldly called their 'path through the night,' as being the guides which direct their course in the darkness.

163. *pandite Helicon*, 'open the gates of Helicon,' as if it were an enclosure which kept in song.

166. *Tigri*, the ship is called Tiger, because the figure-head was a representation of that animal.

168. *goryti*, 'quivers.' *γωρύτιος* Od. xxi. 54 is 'a bow-case.'

171. *puppis* here='the stern,' on which stood a figure or painting of Apollo as *tutela*, or guardian deity (not to be confounded with the *παράσημον* or 'figure-head'; see above on l. 157); cp. Pers. vi. 30 (of a shipwrecked mariner) *iacet ipse in litore et una Ingentes de puppe dei*; Ov. Trist. i. 10. 1 *Est mihi sitque, precor, flavae tutela Minervae Navis, et a picta casside nomen habet*.

174. 'An island rich in boundless treasures of the mine.' *generosa* = of a good stock ('genus') and so 'generous,' 'fruitful:' *generosos palmite colles* Ov. Met. xv. 710.

175. *hominum divumque interpres*, 'interpreter between gods and men:' *interpres* denotes properly an agent between two parties.

176-178. *parent*, 'obey.' He who knows the movements and meanings of the *caeli sidera* is counted as their lord. *rapit*, 'hurries.'

179. **Pisae**, nom. plur.; in G. iii. 180 the sing. form 'Pisa' is used. Pisa is Alphean (i.e. Elean) by origin, Etruscan by situation (*solo*). Its connection with the Pisa of Elis on the Alpheus is a fiction due to similarity of name.

182-184. **tercentum** is object of **addicunt**—the people of Caere, etc. add three hundred to the total. **Caerete domo**, abl. of origin, 'those who are from the home of Caere,' i.e. 'whose dwelling is Caere.'

186. **Cinyrus** and **Cupavo** are apparently brothers, and the sons of Cynus, who was a lover of Phaëthon, and when the latter died, was changed into a swan.

187, 188. 'from whose crest the swan plumes rise: love is your shame; your cognizance is that of your father's shape.' **crimen amor vestrum**: as the legend to which Virgil refers is unknown, it is uncertain whether this means merely that the shame of Cynus' love for Phaëthon had descended to his sons, or whether there is an allusion to a criminal passion between Cinyrus and Cupavo themselves. **formaeque insigne paternae**, i.e. the brothers bear as their device the feathers of a swan. Two other interpretations of the passage are suggested: (1) Sprengel takes **amor** voc., and understands **vestrum** of Cupid and Venus, like *vestras, Eure, domos* i. 140—'a record of thy offence, O Love, and an emblem of their father's shape.' But **vestrum** here must surely refer to Cinyrus and Cupavo. (2) Wagner makes **crimen amor vestrum** parenthetical, and **formae insigne paternae** expegetical of **pennae**, to which he refers **vestrum**. But the run of the lines is against this interpretation.

190. **sorum**, the sisters of Phaëthon were changed into poplars after his death.

192. 'passed an old age white with soft plumage,' i.e. was turned into a swan. The other interpretation, 'put on a hoary age of soft plumage' (**senecta** denoting the white hairs), is surely far-fetched.

194. **ilius**, probably Cinyrus, Cupavo being dropped out of sight, as unimportant (*paucis comitatus*, p. 186).

195. **Centaurum**, the ship. **ille**, the figure-head, which consists of a Centaur in the act of hurling a stone upon the waters.

198. **ille** . . . **Ocnus**; Wagner is probably right in taking this as parallel to the Homeric use, e.g. Il. iii. 118 Ἀνδρὰ δὲ Ταλθύβιον προτὶ κρείων Ἀγαμέμνον, in which the pronoun first obscurely indicates the subject which is afterwards more directly introduced. He cites G. iv. 457 *Illa* . . . *puella*. Aen. v. 609 *Illa* . . . *virgo*, xii. 901 *Ille* . . . *heros*.

199. **Mantus**, Greek gen. of Manto. **Tusci amnis**, the Tiber.

201-203. 'Mantua rich in ancestry—but not of one blood all her sons. Three races hath she, with four cities under each: herself the chief among her cities; of Tuscan blood her strength.' **gens** = 'a race' (*ἔθνος*); **populus**, 'a people' or 'city' (*πόλις*) belonging to it. Virgil glorifies his native Mantua by representing her as the head of the northern league of twelve Tuscan cities, which Livy (v. 33) speaks of as founded from the 'twelve fair cit-

of Etruria Proper. Pliny, however (N. H. iii. 20), and Cato state that Felsina was the metropolis. The **gens triplex** is said to be Greek, Etruscan, and Umbrian. **populis**, dative. **Tusco de sanguine vires**, i. e. the most powerful **gens** at Mantua consisted of Tuscans.

204. 'From Mantua, too, Mezentius arms five hundred men against himself'—i. e. five hundred take arms against him.

205, 206. **Mincius**, name of the ship and of the figure-head, consisting of a representation of the river Mincius, which is called 'child of Benacus,' because it issues from Lake Benacus.

207, 208. **it gravis**, 'moves heavily,' because of the bulk of the ship. **centena arbore**, 'with a hundred oars.' **arbor** suggests the great size of the oars. For the use of distributive in place of simple numerals cp. Aen. v. 120 **terno consurgunt ordine remi**. **assurgens**, 'rising to the stroke.'

209. **Triton**, name of ship and of the figure-head—Triton with his shell.

211. **hominem praefert**, 'shows a human shape.'

212. Note the musical rhythm of this line, well expressing the soft lapping of the waters under the prow.

218. **velis ministrat**, 'attends to the sails.'

219. **medio in spatio**, 'in the middle of his course.'

220-224. **Nymphae**, etc., 'the Nymphs, whom gracious Cybele had transformed from ships and bade them have power over the sea, swam side by side and clove the waves—as many Nymphs as the brazen prows that erst stood moored to shore. As far they know the chief, and round him weave their dance.' For the story, which is told ix. 73 foll., see on l. 83 above. **numen** = 'divine power;' cp. Ov. Am. iii. 9. 18 *At sacri vates et divum cura vocamur: Sunt etiam qui nos numen habere putant*. **lustrant**, as vii. 391 *te lustrare choro*.

228, 229. According to Servius the Vestal Virgins on a set day addressed the *rex sacrorum* with the formula *Vigilasne, rex? vigila*. **velis immitte rudentes**, 'let loose the sheets to the sails.' **rudentes** are the ropes (called 'sheets') fastened to the bottom corners of the sail.

232. **praecipites**, proleptic, 'drove us to flight.'

234. **hanc faciem refecit**, 'gave us this new shape.'

237. **horrentes** suggests a long array of spears ('bristling ranks of Latins'), and is more forcible than the other reading *ardentes*.

238. No mention has been previously made of the sending of this Arcadian cavalry, or of Etruscan forces other than those with Aeneas—a proof of the unfinished state of the poem.

240. **iungant**, in middle sense without *se*, according to a frequent Virgilian (and Lucretian) use; see Munro on Lucr. iii. 502.

242, 243. **primus** = 'forthwith.' **oras ambiit auro**, 'edged its rim with gold.'

247. **hanc ignara modi**, 'knowing well the way'—i. e. of making a *ship go*; perhaps with some allusion to her having once been a ship herself.

252, 253. **Idaea**, Mount Ida in Phrygia being the favourite abode of

Cybele. *cordi (sunt)* 'is dear': *cordi* in this phrase is probably a locative, the literal meaning being 'is at heart.' *turrigerae*, Cybele wore a crown ornamented with battlements, as being the protectress of cities.

254. *propinques augurium*, lit. 'bring the omen near,' i. e. 'bring it to pass.'

256, 257. 'No more he spake: meanwhile returning day was hurrying up in the fulness of dawn, and had driven night away.' *revoluta*, the heavens being regarded as a hollow sphere, part light and part dark, which kept turning round the earth, and so producing day and night: cp. ii. 250 *vertitur interea caelum et ruat Oceano nox*.

258, 259. 'First he enjoins his comrades to follow the signal, and fit their courage for the fight, and make them ready to battle.'

265, 266. *dant signa*, 'give signs' of their approval by their clamour. *fugiant notos*, 'fly from the southern winds' on their way back to the north. *secundo*, 'joyful.'

269. The very sea appears to be bearing down upon them, along with the ships.

270-275. 'The helmet on his head is all ablaze; from the crest above play streams of fire, and the golden shield darts forth devouring flames: like the lurid glare of blood-red comets in the clear night air, or the burning Dogstar's glow—the star that rises with heat and pest for hapless men, and saddens all the heaven with his baneful light.' *capiti, oristis*, datives of the indirect object or thing affected. *a vertice* = κατ' ἀκρῆς, 'from above'; cp. i. 114 *ingens a vertice pontus*. Milton has adapted the simile with fine effect ('Par. Lost,' ii. 708 sqq.):

'Satan stood
Unterrified, and like a comet burned,
That fires the length of Ophiucus huge
In the Arctic sky, and from his horrid hair
Shakes pestilence and war.'

276, 277. *praecipere* depends on *fiducia*, a rather extended use of the infinitive. 'Yet daring Turnus lost not heart to seize the shore first and drive the invaders from the soil.'

278. Omitted by the best MSS., and not noticed by Servius: perhaps repeated from ix. 127.

279-282. 'See here the chance for which you prayed, to crush them sword in hand! The war itself is in your grasp, my men: think each of wife and home; think of brave deeds, your fathers' pride.' *Mars ipse*, 'the whole fortune of the war,' which may now be decided if they destroy Aeneas and his followers in the attempt to land. There is another reading *viris*, which has better MS. authority: but the sense ('in brave men's hands is Mars himself') does not seem so good.

282, 283. *ultra*, i. e. without waiting for the attack—'Let us meet them at the water's edge, while all confused, and their first steps tottering as they

land.' **trepidī** expresses the hurry and confusion of landing. **egressis**, the reading **egressi** (in which case **vestigia** would be cognate acc. with **labant**) is equally well supported by the MSS., and is defended by some editors as being the harder reading, and therefore more likely to be altered. But on the other hand **egressis** might easily have been changed to **egressi**, to harmonize with **trepidī**.

288-292. **pontibus**, 'gangways,' for landing from a ship. **recursum**, 'the ebb' of each wave—i. e. the moment before the next rolls up, when it is possible to jump ashore in the shoal water (**brevibus se credere saltu**). **per remos** probably means that they slide down the oars (which, it may be noted, are large galley-oars, worked perhaps by two men). **Tarchon** runs his ships upon a low sandy coast, marking a spot 'where are no seething waters, no roar of broken waves, but the sea unchecked creeps gently up with advancing tide'—a most accurate description of waves coming in upon a shelving sandy beach. **spirant**, lit. 'breathe,' is far more poetical than the other reading **sperat**.

294, 295. 'Now, gallants, throw your weight upon the oars, now lift and move your barks.' The exhortation 'lift!' will be easily understood by any one who watches a racing boat rising in the water with each stroke.

297. **tali statione**, 'in a roadstead like this.' Cp. for the sentiment Thuc. iv. 11 ἐβόα λέγων ὡς οὐκ εἰκὸς εἶη ξύλων φειδομένους τοὺς πολεμίους ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ περιδεῖν τεῖχος πεποιημένους, κ.τ.λ.

302. **innocuae**, 'uninjured,' a poetical usage.

303-305. 'For while, driven into shallow water, she hangs long in doubtful poise upon a treacherous reef (**dorso**, cp. i. 110) and baffles the waves, she breaks up and turns her crew out into the sea.'

310. **signa canunt**, 'the trumpets sound,' the ordinary military term; cp. Liv. i. 1. 7 *priusquam signa canerent*, xxiv. 15 *ubi signa coeperunt canere*.

311. **omen pugnae**, 'a happy omen for the battle,' in apposition to the action expressed by **invasit**; cp. vi. 223 *triste ministerium*. This construction is common in Tacitus; e. g. Ann. i. 27 *postremo deserunt tribunal, ut quis praetorianorum militum amicorumve Caesaris occurreret, manus intentantes, causam discordiae et initium armorum*.

312. **ultro**, without waiting to be attacked. The word denotes anything 'beyond' what is required or expected.

313, 314. 'Piercing brass mail and tunic rough with gold the sword drinks the blood from his riven side.' **perque . . . per**, the repetition of *per* takes the place of a repeated copula, as often in Virgil, e. g. Ecl. iv. 6 *iam redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna*. **naurit**, sc. Aeneas.

315. **exsectum**, etc. 'Cut from the womb of his dead mother.' Such children were regarded as sacred to Phoebus, the god of healing.

317. **nec longe**, 'not far off.'

319. **leto**, poetical dative of recipient, 'hurled down to death.'

321, 322. *dum praebuit*, of duration, as l. 424 below; cp. i. 268 *dum res stetit Iliā regno*. The fact, and not the duration, is emphasized. *inertes*: Pharus is talking instead of fighting.

323. *clamanti* with *ore*.

326-330. *securus amorum*, 'forgetful of thy love.' *miserande*, voc. by attraction, as ii. 283 *quibus Hector ab oris Expectate venis*. In what follows, the sentence is broken abruptly at *progenies* by the parenthetical explanation *septem . . . coniciunt*: but then, instead of resuming that which precedes the parenthesis, it continues with reference to the parenthesis itself—i. e. to *tela coniciunt*.

331. *stringentia*, proleptic, 'turned aside so as to graze.'

334. *torserit* has the full meaning 'will have hurled'—i. e. will be found to have, when all is over. *in corpore Graium*, 'in Graecian flesh;' *corpore* for *corporibus*.

339. *traiecto*, etc., 'right onward through his arm the spear was sped, and held its bloody course: down from his shoulder by its sinews hung the lifeless hand.' The spear that has passed through Maeon's body severs Alcanor's arm as well,—an impossible stroke, as Alcanor comes up to help Maeon already falling (*ruentem*), i. e. when the impetus of the spear is over. Servius note, '*trajecto lacerto*, quae fuerat missa retroacto lacerto, has suggested the possibility of a reading *reieto*: in which case the passage would mean that Aeneas hurls a *fresh* spear 'with arm thrown back' at Alcanor coming to Maeon's rescue. But it is clear that the text is right, and that Virgil has been guilty of a grotesque exaggeration: since if *hasta* in l. 340 denoted a *second* spear, the words *servatque cruenta tenorem* would have no point or meaning.

343. *figere contra*, 'to strike him full' (*ἀντικρὺ*).

345. *Curibus Clausus*, 'Clausus of Cures,' a regular Latin use of the ablative of origin: cp. Caes. B. C. i. 4 *Magius Cremona*.

347. *graviter pressa* (= *impressa*), 'deeply fixed.'

350. *suprema*, 'exalted,' 'lofty.'

351. *Ismara*, fem. sing. from *Ismarus*, which is here treated as an adjective. Ismarus was a mountain in Thrace.

359. 'Long balanced hangs the fight, and all in strife are set'—(lit. 'all stand pushing against one another').

361. *haeret pede pes*, 'foot stands firm by foot, and man by man in thick array.' *pede*, a peculiar use of the local ablative, analogous to *mandet humo solita* ix. 214, *suffuderit ore ruborem* G. i. 430, *corpore inhaeret* l. 845 below. Macrobius (Sat. vi. 3. 5) preserves a line of Furius Antias (circa 100 B. C.) *Pressatur pede pes, mucro mucrone, viro vir*; and Ennius (Ann. 559) has *Premitur pede pes, atque armis arma teruntur*: either of which passages may have been in Virgil's mind. It is suggested that *pede* here may be an archaic dative (cp. for the form the phrase *iure dicundo*, Liv. xlii. 28; and *Diiove victore*, quoted as an archaism by Quint. i. 4. 17): but this appears hardly probable.

362. *rotantia*, intransitive use of active participle: cp. G. I. 163 *volventia plaustra*.

365. *Latia sequaci*, abstract for concrete, 'the pursuing Latins.'

366-368. Either *quis* (i. e. *quibus, quibus*) or *quando* seems superfluous for the sense, which would be clear enough with one or the other. If *quando* has its ordinary meaning 'when' or 'since,' we must suppose a sudden break at *equos*, perhaps denoting that the passage was unfinished ('who, seeing that the rough nature of the ground made them discard their horses—Pallas excites them,' etc.): for it is hard to believe with Heyne that *quando* is a mere repetition of the reason already given by *quis*. Priscian (6th century A. D.) suggests that *quando* here = *aliquando*, 'at times.'

369, 370. 'Whither fly ye, comrades? I beseech you by your own brave deeds, by your chief Evander's name and the fights beneath him won. . . .'
per vos fortia facta, an imitation of the Greek idiom *πρὸς σε θεῶν, μὴ πρὸς σε γονάτων*, etc., which stands for *λίσσομαι σε πρὸς θεῶν, πρὸς γονάτων*. To make *per* govern *vos* would be feeble. For the form of expression *per et* . . . *per* see on l. 313 above. *devicta bella*, like *vincere causam, vincere sponsionem* (cognate accusatives).

371. 'My own hopes that now shoot up in rivalry of my father's glory.'

374. *alta*, 'noble.'

378. *Troiam*, i. e. the Trojan camp, which they were trying to reach. See ll. 238-240 above.

382, 383. *discrimina costis dabat*, 'parted the ribs,' i. e. those on one side from those on the other. For the lengthening of the final syllable in *dabāt* see *Introductio* p. xvii.

384. *super occupat*, 'surprises from above.'

390, 391. 'Twin offspring of Daucus, Larides and Thymber, alike in sweet confusion e'en to parents' eyes.'

394. *capūt*, see *Introductio* p. xvii. *Evandrius ensis*, the sword of Pallas, son of Evander.

395, 396. 'Larides' severed hand feels blindly for its lord; the fingers quiver half alive, and clutch the sword.' Virgil imitates Ennius, *Ann.* i. 463 (of a severed head) *Oscitat in campis caput a cervice revulsum, Semianimesque micant digiti ferrumque requirunt*.

399. *praeter*, adverbial.

400. 'Such respite, so much delay, had Ilus.'

405-409. 'And as when summer winds have risen at his wish, the swain sets fire here and there to the woods; soon all between has caught, and over all the wide champaign the bristling line of fire spreads unbroken: he sits victorious and views the triumphant flames.' *dispersa* implies that the woods are set on fire in several places at once: *mediis* being all that lies between the several points. The spread of fire in a wood here illustrates the contagious spread of courage kindled here and there by Pallas. Virgil elsewhere (*ii.* 304, *xii.* 521) and Homer (*Iliad* xi. 155, xv. 605, xx. 45)

employ it to illustrate destructive fury. *una*, probably adv., rather than adj. agreeing with *acies*.

410. *socium*, instance of the old gen. in *-um* (Greek *-ov*), which was superseded by that in *-orum*. It was retained in certain words in the ordinary language, such as *nummum*, *sestertium*; and occurs not unfrequently in poetry: e.g. *Teucrum*, *Gratum*, *magnanimum*, *fluvium*, etc.

412. *seque in sua colligit arma*, 'gathers himself behind his shield,' a phrase imitated by Sil. It. x. 129 *Consumit clipeo tela et collectus in arma Sustinet ingentes crepitantibus ictibus hastas*.

415. *elatum in ingulum*, raised against Halaesus' throat.

417. *canens*, MSS.: according to Servius there was another reading, *cavens*.

418. *canentia*, 'aged,' that which properly refers to *senior* being transferred to *lumina*; cp. xi. 654 *spicula converso fugientia dirigit arcu*. To suppose (with Servius) an allusion to the *cornea* of the eye turning white after death is surely to make Virgil write medical prose.

422. *fortunam*, 'success.' *fortunam atque viam* is virtually a hendiadys, 'a prosperous course.'

423. *tua quercus* probably = an oak to be consecrated to you, not any particular oak on Tiber's banks.

424. *dum texit*, for the tense see on l. 321 above.

426, 427. *sinit perterrita*, 'does not suffer his troops to be dismayed.' *pars ingens*, 'the life and soul of war.'

428. *pugnae nodumque moramque*, 'the knot and barrier of the fight,' a striking phrase to denote the tenacity of Abas in battle. The metaphor in *nodus* is that of a knot hard to untie.

439. 'Meanwhile his gracious sister (the nymph Juturna) warns Turnus to take Lausus' place'—i. e. against Pallas.

441. *pugnae*, dat. after *desistere*, on the analogy of the constr. with verbs implying disunion, removal, etc.; cp. Stat. Theb. v. 273 *haud unquam iusto mea cura labori Destitit*. Heyne explained it as gen. on the analogy of the Greek gen. with *παύεσθαι*, *ἀγγειν*, etc.: cp. Hor. Od. ii. 9. 17 *desine querellarum*. But this particular kind of Graecism, though common in Horace, does not appear to be Virgilian. Some MSS. give *pugna*, the ordinary construction.

444. *iusso* agrees with *aequore*, but may be translated adverbially, 'at his bidding.'

445. *abscessu*, ablat. of circumstance, 'on their departure.'

446. *stupet in Turno*, 'stands rapt at Turnus:' so Hor. Sat. i. 6. 17 *qui stupet in titulis*.

449. *spolia optima* were properly spoils taken by one commander from another. As Pallas was not the commander on his side, his use of the term is slightly inaccurate.

450. *sorti*, etc., 'my sire is nerved for either fate' (Con.), lit. 'will look calmly on either fate'—referring to Turnus' words l. 443.

455. *meditantem in proelia*, 'practising for the fray;' a Virgilian variety for the usual *meditari proelia*.

457. *contiguum hastae*, 'within range of a spear-cast;' a peculiar use of the word, which generally = 'bordering upon.'

458. *ire*, historic infin. *ausum*, masculine.

460. *patris hospitium*. Hercules was said to have visited Evander at Pallanteum (viii. 184 foll.).

463. *ferant*, 'brook the sight of.'

467-469. 'Each has his own set day; short and irretrievable is men's space of life; 'tis valour's part to spread its fame by noble deeds.' The mention of Sarpedon just below suggests that Virgil had in mind the language put by Homer (Iliad xii. 326-328) into his mouth:

Νῦν δ'—ἐμπης γὰρ κῆρες ἐφεισῶσιν θανάτοιο
μυρίαί, ἃς οὐκ ἔστι φυγεῖν βροτὸν οὐδ' ὑπάλύξαι—
ἴομεν, ἥέ τῳ εὖχος ὀρέξομεν ἥέ τις ἡμῖν.

Cp. the well-known passage in Dem. de Corona 258. 15 *πéρας μὲν γὰρ ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις ἐστὶ τοῦ βίου θάνατος, καὶ ἐν οἰκίσκῳ τις αὐτὸν καθείρξας τηρῇ· δεῖ δὲ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας ἐγχειρεῖν μὲν ἅπασιν ἀεὶ τοῖς καλοῖς, κ.τ.λ.*

473. *relictis arvis*, 'averts from the fields,' so as not to see the death of Pallas.

477, 478. *molita*, 'forcing its way:' cp. *molitur iter* of a difficult journey, vi. 477. *orae*, 'the edge.' *strinxit de corpore*, 'grazed the body,' seems to be an imitation of Greek partitive gen.—*ἐπέγραψε τοῦ σώματος*.

481. 'See, if my spear be not more keen.' For *penetrabile* (active) cp. G. i. 93; and the similar use of *genitabilis* Lucr. i. 11; *illacrimabilis* Hor. Od. ii. 14. 6; *exitibilis* Liv. xxix. 17. 19. *mage*, a form of *magis* found in Plautus, Ennius, and Lucretius. Cp. *pote* and *potis*.

482-485. 'He spake; and right through Pallas' shield, through all its plates of steel and bronze, though wrapped in many a fold of tough bull-hide, the point held on with quivering stroke, and broke the corslet's fence and pierced his manly breast.' *ferri terga*, lit. 'hides of iron,' a bold metaphor, helped by the fact that hides were used for the shield, as stated in the next line. *obeat*, concessive subj. *medium*, as compared with *orae* above (l. 477), heightens the contrast between the skill and strength of Pallas and of Turnus; the former having with difficulty (*molita* l. 477) pierced only the edge of his opponent's shield. *loricae morae*, lit. 'the delay caused by the corslet.'

487. *sanguis*, for the quantity see Introd. p. xvii.

487, 488. *corruit in vulnus*, 'he falls upon the wound,' i. e. upon his breast: Virgil seems to be thinking of Lucr. iv. 1049 *Namque omnes plerumque cadunt in vulnus, et illam Emicat in partem sanguis unde icimur ita*.

492-494. *qualem meruit*, i.e. dead, as Evander deserved to receive him. 'The honour of a tomb, the solace of burial, whate'er it be, I freely give: dear enough will be the cost of his friendship for Aeneas.' For *stabunt* cp. Liv. xxxiv. 50 *Polybius scribit, centum talentis eam rem Achæis stetitisse*.

497. *impressum nefas*, etc., 'the horror stamped thereon; in one wedding night a band of youths all foully slain, and bridal couches stained with blood.' We should expect *caesam manum* and *thalamos*, in apposition to *nefas*; but either (as Kenn. suggests) metri gratia, or for variety and vividness, Virgil uses the nom., as though for a fresh clause. The *nefas* is the story of the Danaides.

502. *servare modum*, 'keep the limit,' as Con. remarks, is in the spirit of Greek tragedy, with its lessons of *φθόνος* and *νέμεσις* that await overwhelming or inordinate exultation and prosperity. Cp. e.g. Aesch. Agam. 750 sqq.:

Παλαίφατος δ' ἐν βροτοῖς γέρονι λόγος
τέτυκται, μέγαν τελεσθέντα φωτὸς ὄλβον
τεκνούσθαι, μὴδ' ἀπαιδα θνήσκειν,
ἐκ δ' ἀγαθῶς τύχας γένει
βλαστάνειν ἀκόρεστον οἷζυν:

or the story of the ring of Polycrates, Hdt. iii. 41, 42.

503-505. 'Turnus shall see the day, when he would give the world to have let Pallas go, and shall loathe these spoils and this fatal hour.' Cp. xii. 941 sqq. where the sight of this belt determines Aeneas to kill Turnus. *intactum Pallanta* = *se Pallanta non tetigisse*; cp. *pulsi gloria Turni* above l. 143. *ista*, as though Virgil were addressing Turnus.

505. The peculiar rhythm of this line is suggestive of pathos.

509. *cum*, with indic. must be temporal—'the while you leave.'

511. *discrimine*, ablat. of circumstance, 'are within a hair's breadth of death;' cp. iii. 685.

514. *limitem agit*, 'hews (lit. drives) a wide path through the host:' so *τάφρον ἐλαύνειν* Il. vii. 450.

516. *primas*. Evander had been the first to extend hospitality to Aeneas.

517. *Sulmone creatos*, 'sons of Sulmo.'

518. *quos educat Ufens*, 'reared by Ufens,' an idiomatic use of the present tense for the past, common in Virgil. The action is past: but the fact, rather than the time at which it happened, is dwelt upon. Cp. viii. 141 *idem Atlas generat*, ii. 274 *quantum mutatus ab illo Hectore qui redit exuvias indutus Achilli*.

519. *quos immolet*, final subj., 'to send as offerings to the shade (of Pallas).' Virgil ascribes to Aeneas, as Homer to Achilles (Iliad xxi. 27, 28), the barbarity of human sacrifices. Livy, speaking of the sacrifice of three hundred Roman soldiers by the party of Tarquin (vii. 15. 7), says *quo foeditate supplicii aliquanto ignominia populi Romani insignitior fuit*.

from which it is perhaps too hastily inferred that the Romans of Virgil's time regarded the practice with horror. Suetonius, at any rate, records an ugly story of a similar offering by Octavianus (Augustus) at the altar of *Divus Iulius* (Suet. Octav. 15): and the regular custom at Roman triumphs, of leading the conquered generals through the streets, and putting them to death at the end of the procession, was no less horrible. Cp. Cic. Verr. ii. 5. 30 *At etiam qui triumphant, eoque diutius vivos hostium duces reservant ut his per triumphum ductis pulcherrimum spectaculum fructumque victoriae populus Romanus percipere possit, tamen, cum de foro in Capitolium currus flectere incipiunt, illos duci in carcerem iubent, idemque dies et vicioribus imperii et victis vitae finem facit.*

522. *astu subit*, 'comes crouching up;' cp. Homer's account of the death of Lycaon, *Iliad* xxi. 68 sqq. $\delta\delta'$ $\text{\textit{\text{ἐπιδραμὲ καὶ λάβε γούναων Κίφας· ἐγχείη δ' ἄρ' ὑπὲρ νότου ἐνὶ γαίῃ}}$ *Ἔοστη, κ.τ.λ.* The vengeance of Achilles for Patroclus is a natural precedent for Aeneas avenging Pallas.

528, 529. 'Not here the crisis of the Trojans' victory; nor will one poor life make so much difference. The idea of *hic vertitur* is that of the point on which a balance turns; cp. Liv. iv. 31. 4 *in eo (dictatore) verti spes civitatis*; and the English expression, 'it turns on this.' *dabit* almost = *faciet*, a usage frequent in Lucretius and Virgil, e. q. iii. 70 *placataque venti dant maria*, Lucr. v. 348 *dare cladem*.

531-533. 'The silver and the gold of which you speak, keep it for your sons. Such barter in war hath Turnus closed already, at the hour when Pallas fell.' *talentis*, the proper dative after *parce* (*natis* being dat. commodi) and antecedent to *quae memoras*, is attracted into the relative clause; cp. i. 573. Servius, supposing that *parco* is here used with accus., cites Plaut. Mil. Gl. iv. 6. 5 *parce vocem* (where Ritschl reads *voci*): to which Forbiger adds Curc. iii. 10 *nisi eam (pecuniam) mature parsit, mature esurit*; Cato, R. R. 58 (59) *eas (oleas) condito, parcito* (v. l. *et partito*). There is, however, no necessity to credit Virgil with an idiom so little paralleled. *ista*, that you speak of.

534. Aeneas answers Magus' appeal to the names of *Anchises* and *Iulus*.

537. *nec procul*, sc. *est*.

538. 'His temples crowned with the fillet's sacred band.' The *infula* was a wreath of wool, which was held together by a band (*vitta*), and worn by priests. *sacra vitta* is here probably instrumental abl. with *redimibat*: though it might be taken as descriptive abl. with *infula*.

540, 541. *agit campo*, 'drives over the plain.' *ingenti umbra*, 'death's mighty shade;' cp. (with Con.) Hom. Il. xiii. 425 $\text{\textit{\text{Ἡέ τινα Τρώων ἐρεβεννῇ νυκτὶ καλύψαι}}}$. Virgil forgets that *Serestus* is left in the camp with Mnestheus, ix. 171, 779.

542. *lecta*, 'gathered up.'

543. *instantant acies*, 'rally the ranks.'

545. Aeneas had just struck off (*delecerat*) Anxur's shield arm, when *Argentus* met him.

547. *vim affore verbo*, 'though his valour would second his words.'

548. *caelo animum ferebat*, 'was raising his spirit to the skies;' *caelo*, poetical dative of recipient, instead of prep. and case, like *terrae* l. 555, below. *fortasse*, 'I ween,' Gk. *πού*; cp. Il. v. 473 *φῆς που ἄτερ λαῶν πόλιν ἔξμεν*.

553. *impedit*—not 'entangles,' 'hinders from using,' but 'pins together' shield and corslet; i.e. drives the spear through both, thus pinioning Tarquitus, whom he then kills with his sword. *reducta hasta*, 'drawing back his spear.' The preparation for the stroke is mentioned, but not the stroke itself.

555, 556. *deturbat terrae*, 'strikes down to earth;' cp. *demisere neci* ii. 85; and see on l. 548 above. *super*, 'over him.'

557-560. 'Lie there, dread foe! no mother dear shall lay you in the ground, or bury your bones in your father's tomb: you shall feed the savage birds, or the stream shall bear you down its flood, while hungry fishes lick your wounds.' Cp. Iliad xi. 452 sqq., xxi. 122 sqq.

562. *fulvum*, 'fair-haired.'

564. *Amyclis*, between Anxur and Caieta. The name perhaps was derived from the Laconian Amyclae. The epithet *tacitis*, according to Servius, refers to the legend that the town was destroyed because, owing to many false alarms, no one was allowed to announce the enemy's approach. Cp. Sil. It. viii. 528 *quasque evertere silentia, Amyclae*.'

565, 566. *Aegaeon*, a name of Briareus (vi. 287). *centenas*, for the use of the distributive instead of the simple numeral see on l. 207 above.

568. *tot paribus*, 'as many shields to match' his hands, &c., i. e. fifty.

581. The point of *Liger's* boast is, 'You will not escape from me as you did from Diomedes (Il. v. 311 sqq.) and Achilles (Il. xx. 290);' Aeneas having been rescued on the first occasion by Aphrodite, and on the second by Poseidon.

586-589. 'As Lucagus, low bending for the stroke, touched up the horses with his sword, with left foot forward thrown in readiness for fight'—so that on rising up he might face Aeneas, who is to the right.

592. Cp. the taunt of Patroclus over Hector's charioteer (Il. xvi. 745), 'ὦ πόποι, ἦ μάλ' ἐλαφρὸς ἀνὴρ, ὥς βεῖα κυβιστῶ. *segnis*, 'craven flight.' 'Your horses,' says Aeneas, 'are not like those of Niphaeus (above Il. 572-574), frightened at a mere shadow.'

597. 'By thyself, by the parents that gave such a hero birth.' *te* in this place is plainly governed by *per*, and is not, as some suppose, an example of the Greek idiom explained on l. 369 above.

598. *sine*, 'spare;' so *ἐάν* Hom. Il. xxiv. 569.

599, 600. *haud talia*, etc.:

'Not such the strain you breathed so late:

Die—brother should be brother's mate!' (Con.).

601. *latebras animae*, in apposition to *pectus*, 'the abode of breath.'

606. *ultro*, 'graciously;' of his own accord, without having been addressed by her.

610. *viris* for *virorum*, a rare use, except where the verb of being is expressed or understood.

613-616. 'O had I but the power in love that once was mine, and did aye befit me! For then would not thine almighty will deny me this, the power to rescue Turnus from the fight, and save his life for Daunus his sire!' *si foret* expresses a wish, and *namque* has its ordinary causal sense, its position late in the sentence being paralleled by Aen. v. 733 *non me impia namque Tartara habent*. Others make *non* . . . *negares* apodosis to *si* . . . *foret*, giving to *namque* the affirmative sense of *enim* in viii. 84 *tibi enim*, G. ii. 509 *geminatus enim* (*mihi namque* = *ἐμοίγε δή*): but this, though possible, is unexampled. *fuerat* poetical for *erat*.

617. *pio*, i. e. *erga patriam et patrem*—'his devoted blood.' The term is perhaps suggested by the mention of Turnus' father, but includes more than filial affection.

618. *nostra origine*, 'from divine lineage,' i. e. from the Italian deity Pilumnus, as explained in the next line.

622-627. 'If respite from instant death and reprieve for the warrior that must fall be all you ask, and you feel that 'tis thus I grant it, away with Turnus in flight and snatch him from impending fate. Thus far am I free to grant your wish. But if beneath your prayers there lurk some deeper boon—if you deem that the course of the war is turned and shifted—'tis empty hope you feed.' *huc ita ponere*, lit. 'I settle this matter thus,' i. e. that the concession is only temporary. *vacat*, poetical variety for *licet*.

628. *gravis*, 'grudge;' lit. 'feel incommoded by' and so 'do unwillingly.'

630, 631. *veri vana feror*, 'am wandering in delusion' (Con.): lit. 'am carried along deceived in regard to truth.' So vii. 440 *veri effeta senectus*. *quod*, 'but,' common in transitions; lit. = 'as to which,' *ut* = *utinam* (as in Ter. Heaut. iv. 6. 6 *ut te omnes di deaeque perdunt*), 'but oh that I might rather be deluded.'

636-639. *nube cava*, abl. of material with *umbram*—'a phantom of hollow (i. e. unsubstantial) cloud.' This seems better than to regard it as a local ablat., 'in the cloud that wrapt her round.' *in faciem Aeneae ornat*, 'equips after the likeness of Aeneas.' *iubas*, 'the horse-hair plume' of his helmet. *inania verba* is explained by *sine mente sonum*, 'empty speech and soulless words.'

641, 642. 'Like the spectres that men say flit about after death, or visions that mock our senses in sleep.' For *morte obita* cp. Lucr. i. 135 *Morte obita quorum tellus amplectitur ossa*. *figuras* = *εἰδωλα*, as Lucr. iv. 34.

644. *tellis*, by brandishing, not throwing, his weapons, which of course are unsubstantial like himself.

648. *turbidus*, 'in the whirl of passion.'

650. 'My hand shall give you the ground that you have sought for over sea:' cp. l. 741 below, *eadem mox arva tenebis*; and the story told of Saxon Harold's reply to Harold Hardrada, the gigantic king of Norway, when the latter demanded what should be given to himself—'Six feet of earth, or as much more as he is taller than others.'

652. *neo ferre*, etc., 'nor sees that his delight is wasted on the winds.'

653, 654. 'It chanced a ship stood fastened to a high pier of rock, with steps let down and gangway ready.' The vessel lay moored to a projecting rock, which served as a pier. *coniuncta*, rarely with ablat. only; cp. Cic. Cluent. v. 12 *libido non solum dedecore, verum etiam scelere coniuncta*; and De Or. i. 5. 17 quoted by Con.

660. *revoluta per aequora*, 'down the retiring flood.'

661-665. Ribbeck adopts Brunck's transposition of ll. 661, 662 to follow l. 664. The alteration is an improvement: but as the MS. order of the lines gives an unobjectionable sense, it seems safer to retain it. *demittit morti*, see on l. 319 above.

666. 'He turns unconscious of the truth, and unthankful for escape.' The construction *ingratus salutis* (an extension, as Con. points out, of *gratia alicuius rei*) is perhaps suggested by *ignarus rerum*.

670. 'Whither am I borne, whence come? what means this flight that takes me from the field, and who am I that fly?' *reducit*, sc. *ex acie*. Turnus in his bewilderment can hardly realise who and where he is.

672. *quid manus illa*, 'what of that host of men, &c.'

673-675. What? those whom I left all in death's fell grasp: e'en now I see them fly, I hear their dying groans.' *quosne* = *quid ii, quos*? a contraction frequent in Plautus—e.g. Amph. ii. 2. 74 *Paulisper mane, dum edormiscat unum somnium*. Am. *quaene vigilans somniat*? (what? she who . . .): cp. Ter. And. iv. 4. 49 *Quemne ego heri vidi ad vos afferri*? ('what? the boy whom . . .?'); Catull. lxiv. 180 *An patris auxilium sperem? quemne ipsa reliqui*?

675. *quid ago*? 'what can I do,' vivid use of indic. for delib. subj.; cp. iii. 88 *quem sequimur*. *ima* with *dehiscat*, 'how can earth yawn deep enough for me?'

678. *syrtis*, gen. sing.

679. *conscia*, 'that knows my shame.'

681, 682. 'Shall he madly throw himself upon his sword after such disgrace, and drive the cruel steel into his side?' For the ablat. *mucone* see on l. 361 above; and for the phrase, Caes. B. G. vii. 73 *quini erant ordines stipitum, coniuncti inter se atque implicati, quo qui intraverant, se ipsi acutissimis vallis inducebant*.

686. *animi*, 'in her heart:' an expression of very common occurrence, found not only with adjectives, but also with verbs, e.g. *animi angere, excruciare, fallere, pendere*. It was probably an unconscious survival of the old locative.

688. *Dauni urbem*, i. e. Ardea.

691, 692. 'The Tuscan lines close in, and press—a host against a man—with gathered hate and ceaseless blows.'

693-696. Cp. the simile of Latinus resisting his subjects' clamour, vii. 586 sqq.; and Hom. Il. xvii. 747, of the Trojans pressing the two Ajaces.

698, 699. 'But Latagus he strikes in face and front with a stone, a mountain's huge fragment: *occupat* = to be beforehand in seizing, and so here denotes that he dashes the stone in his face before he can strike. *Latagum* . . . *os*, accusative of whole and part, a common construction in Homer, e.g. Il. vii. 215 *Τρώας δὲ τρόμος αἰνὸς ὑπήλυθε γυνὴ ἕκαστον*.

700. *volvi segnem sinit*, 'lets him roll disabled.'

701. *donat habere*, a poetical use of the epexegetic infin., imitated from Greek.

702-706. 'Phrygian Evanthes too he slew, and Mimas, compeer and friend of Paris, whom Theano bore to Amycus the selfsame night that Cisseus' royal daughter, pregnant with a firebrand, gave Paris to the light: Paris sleeps in the city of his fathers, but Mimas lies a stranger on Laurentian shores.' *Paris* must be supplied with *occupat*. The change of subject is exceedingly harsh, and Bentley's conjecture *Paris* for *creat* would be a great improvement; but if this was what Virgil wrote, it is difficult to see how *creat* could have got into the text. *creat* is an instance of the idiomatic use of the present tense which has already been noticed on l. 518 above. *ignarum*, passive; a use found in Sallust and Tacitus.

707. *ille* = 'the boar we wot of;' cp. Aen. xi. 809 *ille . . . lupus*. The corresponding English phrase is 'like some boar.'

709. *multosque*. Some MSS. give *multosve*. In any case (as Servius notes) *que* must have almost the force of *ve*: for the boar of mount *Vesulus* in Liguria (the watershed of the Po) cannot be the same as that of the Laurentian marsh near the mouth of the Tiber.

711. *inhorruit armos*, 'bristling his back' (Con.), accus. of the part.

714, 715. These lines (*ille autem impavidus . . . decutit hastas*), which obviously refer to the boar, are in most MSS. placed after l. 718, so as to refer to *Mesentius*; an arrangement which Conington defends (see his note). Heyne, Forbiger, Ribbeck, etc. accept the order given in our text. *partes cunctatur in omnes*, 'from side to side turns round in doubt:' *cunctanter se vertit dubius quo impetum faciat* (Heyne).'

716. *irae*, predicative dative, 'those who hate Mezentius with righteous wrath.'

720. *profugis hymenaeos*, see Introd. p. xvi.

722. He wore a crest of purple feathers and a purple robe which his lady had given him.

723. *stabula alta*, 'the lofty lairs' of wild beasts in the forest: so vi. 179 *stabula alta ferarum*.

725. *surgentem in cornua*, 'with towering antlers,' lit. 'rising towards his horns.'

731. *infracta*, 'broken,' as xii. 1.

733. *caecum*, 'unseen,' i. e. from behind.

734, 735. 'In front he met him face to face, and charged him man to man, prevailing not by cunning, but sheer strength.' *obvius adversoque*: the ideas not being co-ordinate, the copula, strictly speaking, is not required; but Virgil has inserted it for variety, as v. 498 *extremus galeaque ima*, and elsewhere.

736, 737. 'Then with foot and spear planted on the fallen man.' The spear is in *Orodes*' body; Mezentius leans on it, at the same time putting his foot on the prostrate enemy.

738. 'His comrades at the word (*seouti*) raise high the shout of triumph.'

744. *viderit*, as we should say, 'let him see to it.'

745, 746. 'A heavy slumber iron-bound

Seals the dull eyes in rest profound;

They close in endless night' (Con.).

Cp. Hom. Il. xi. 241 *κοιμήσατο χάλκεον ὕπνον*.

749. *Lucaonium*, 'son of Lucaon,' like *Hicetaonius* l. 123 above.

750. *equi lapsu*, 'a fall from his horse.'

753, 754. *insidiis* (so most MSS.) is explained by *iaculo et longe fallente sagitta* ('stealing from afar'), which define the respective *insidiae* by which *Salius* slew *Thronius*, and *Nealces* slew *Salius*. Servius' suggestion that *iaculo et sagitta* is hendiadys seems contradicted by ix. 572 (*hic iaculo bonus, hic longe fallente sagitta*), where *iaculo* and *sagitta* must be distinct weapons. Con. adopts the v. l. *insignis* [Med., corrected to *insidiis*], and refers the whole line to Nealces.

756. *ruebant*, 'were falling.'

763-767. 'Huge as Orion, when on foot he strides and cleaves a way through Nereus' midmost depths, his shoulder rising o'er the waves; or when, carrying a many-wintered ash from the mountain-tops, he plants his foot upon the ground and his head is lost in the clouds.' Orion was a giant huntsman, changed after his death into the constellation. A club (here an 'aged ash') was always part of his equipment. The story of his wading through the sea may, as Sidg. suggests, be derived from the rising of the constellation Orion. *referens*, some editors translate 'recalling' or 'resembling' an aged ash: but the other rendering gives a much finer picture.

771. *mole sua stat*, modal abl., 'stands firm in massive strength;' like *sese mole tenet* vii. 589 (of a rock resisting the waves).

773. 'Now hear my prayer, my good right hand and spear that now I hurl:' lit. 'may they help me as my god' (*adsint mihi deus*). The words are characteristic of the *contemptor divum* (vii. 648; cp. x. 880): Con. well compares Aesch. Sept. 529 *Ὀμπροὶ δ' ἀλχητὴν ἦν ἔχει μῦλλον θεῶν ζέβειον*, and Stat. Theb. ix. 548 *Ades o mihi dextera tantum: Tu praesens bellis etq[ue] inevitabile numen; Te voco, te solam superum contemptor adoro.*

774. *voveo*, etc., Lausus, clothed in Aeneas' armour, is to be a living *tropaeum*.

781, 782. 'Now, prostrate by an unmeant wound,
In death he welters on the ground,
And, gazing on Italian skies,
Of his loved Argos thinks, and dies.' (Con.)

alieno, i. e. intended for another. *caelumque aspiciit*, for the scansion see Introd. p. xix.

784. *cavum*, as *aere cavo* iii. 286, seems to refer to the concave shape of the shield inside—'the hollow shield of triple brass.' *linas terga* ('linen folds') may be a reminiscence of linen corslets (Ajax Oilens is λινοθήρη Iliad ii. 529); for we hear nothing elsewhere of such a material used for shields.

785. *tauris*, 'bulls' hides.' *ima*, 'low down' in the groin.

786. *vires hand pertulit*, 'its force was spent.'

792. 'If length of time can e'er make such high deeds believed.' *vetustas* = 'lapse of time,' 'antiquity,' cp. Cic. Mil. 35. 98 *de me, inquit (Milo), semper populus Romanus, semper omnes gentes loquentur, nulla umquam obmutescet vetustas*; Ov. Met. i. 445 *Neve operis famam possit delere vetustas*. That it cannot (as has been thought) = 'posterity' is shown here by the phrase *fidem ferre*, which = 'to make credible,' not 'to hold credible.' The meaning is that such a glorious deed could only appear possible if recorded of ancient and heroic times.

794. *et . . . que* = 'both . . . and.' 'Helpless and hampered, the sire was moving backward in retreat.' *inutilis inque ligatus*, a Lucretian form of expression: e. g. Lucr. i. 452 *seiungi seque gregari*, where Munro cites twenty-three other examples of tmesis in verbs compounded with prepositions; cp. Aen. ix. 288 *inque salutatam*.

796. *armis* (dative), either Aeneas' arms, or as a general term = 'the fight.'

798. *subiit mucronem*, 'met the stroke' of Aeneas' sword.

800. *dum abiret*, 'while his father should retire;' the subj. denotes the purpose of his companions.

802. *tectus*, 'behind his shield.'

805. *arce*, here in a general sense, 'shelter.'

807. *dum pluit in terris* is from Lucr. vi. 630 *Compluit in terris et venti nūbila portant*.

808. *exerere*, 'to spend in toil;' so Tac. Ann. i. 17 *exercitae aestates*. Cp. *diem fatigare* viii. 94.

809. *nubem belli*, 'the tempest of battle,' here in special reference to the shower of weapons. In Il. xvii. 243 Hector is called πολέμοιο νέφος. *dum detonet*, 'till the storm be over,' the subj. expressing purpose.

811. *moriture*, voc. for nom., as in Il. 283 *quibus Hector ab oris Exspectate venis*.

815. *legunt*, 'spin.'

817-824. 'Right through the buckler, light defence for one so bold, the blade held on, right through the vest his mother wove with pliant threads of gold; and blood filled all his bosom: the soul passed sadly in flight to the underworld, and left its clay. But when Anchises' son beheld his look and face—the face so strangely pale—he groaned in pity sore, and stretched forth his hand, and his heart was touched by the sight of a son's great love.' No translation—much less comment—can adequately render the pathetic beauty of this passage, with its powerful picture of the sudden revulsion of feeling in Aeneas from wrath to pity at the death of young Lausus in defence of a father. The 'wild pathetic rhythm' of the lines (821, 822)—

*At vero ut vultum vidit morientis et ora,
Ora modis Anchisiades pallentia miris—*

is unsurpassed in its suggestive beauty by anything that even Virgil has written: the word *Anchisiades* being just enough to recall that love of Aeneas for his own father, which is the keynote of his sympathy for Lausus. The contrast with Turnus' savage exultation over Pallas (above ll. 492 sqq.) is of course intentional: see introduction to Book x.

827, 828. *laetatus*, sc. *es*. *si qua est ea cura*, 'if that still claim your care'—i. e. if the dead care for such things: lit. 'if you have any care for that,' *ea cura* being = *eius rei cura*, as *ea signa* (ii. 171) = *eius rei signa*. For the sentiment cp. (with Con.) Soph. El. 355 ὥστε τῷ τεθνηκότι Τιμὸς προσάπτει, εἰ τις ἔστ' ἐκεῖ χάρις.

830-832. *ultro*, 'he even chides;' i. e. he not only bewails Lausus, but chides his (Lausus') followers for their hesitation.

834. *siocabat*, 'was staunching.'

835. *procul*, 'apart,' of a short distance: Mezentius, resting after battle with the enemy at hand, would not put his helmet far away from him. Cp. Ecl. vi. 16 *serta procul, tantum capiti delapsa, iacebant*. Other examples of the usage are not infrequent.

837, 838. 'Around him stand his chosen warriors: their chief all weak and panting rests his neck, with long beard streaming on his breast.' *fovet*, relieves or eases it by leaning against the tree trunk. For the construction of *fusus barbam* see on l. 133 above.

839. *multum*, 'often.'

841. *super arma*, 'on his shield.'

842. The rhythm suggests melancholy. *ingentem atque ingenti*, cp. Homer's μέγας μεγαλωστί (Il. xvi. 776); and Lucr. i. 741 *magni magno cecidere ibi casu*.

845. *corpore inhaeret*, for the constr. see on l. 361 above.

849, 850. *heu, nunc*, etc., 'ah, now at last I feel the bitterness of death; now at last the blow strikes home!'—i. e. I despised death before, but now my end is embittered by the death of Lausus.

853-855. *debueram*, i. e. before this chance of death came. 'Long be-

I owed this penalty to my country and my people's hate : I ought to have yielded up my guilty life by every kind of death !' *dedissem*, past jussive, as iv. 678 *eadem me ad fata vocasses*.

857. *tardat* is best taken as intransitive—'though his strength is slow by reason of the wound : ' cp. Cic. ad Brut. i. 18 *an tardare et commorari te melius esset*. Servius, taking *tardat* in its more usual active sense, explains *vis alto vulnere* as = *alti vulneris violentia* : while others make *vis* = his failing strength.

861-863. Either *qua* or *ulla* seems superfluous ; but perhaps the repetition heightens the improbability—'if anything whatever' (or 'at all'). *spolia illa*, sc. *Aeneae*. *dolorum*, 'the death-pangs of Lausus.'

867. 'He spake, and mounting to his saddle (*tergo*, sc. *equi*) took his wonted seat.' *consueta* is virtually adverbial.

872. Omitted by most MSS., and unnoticed by Servius ; probably from xii. 668.

874. *enim*, here a particle of emphasis, 'Aeneas knew him right well' : so vi. 317 *Aeneas miratus enim* ; viii. 84 *tibi enim, tibi, maxuma Iuno, Mactat*. 875. 'May such be the will of the mighty sire of gods, and of great Apollo,' i. e. that we should fight. *ille*, often used in this way of Jupiter, e. g. vii. 110 *sic Juppiter ille monebat*.

877. *subit obivius*, 'comes up to meet him spear in rest.'

880. 'I fear not death, I spare not any god'—i. e. though Jupiter and Apollo, on whom you call, come to aid you, they shall feel my spear. It is the *contemptor divum* who speaks ; see above l. 773.

884. *umbo*, Aeneas' shield, which stands against (*sustinet*, cp. l. 810) the shower of darts.

885-887. 'Thrice rode he round Aeneas standing there, in circles towards the left'—i. e. keeping his shield-arm next to Aeneas. *aerato* is not inconsistent with *aureus* l. 884 : for both metals were used in the shield of Aeneas ; see viii. 445. *silvam*, 'the forest' of darts fixed in his shield.

889. The fight is *iniqua* for Aeneas, as being on foot, while his opponent is on horseback.

892-894. 'The horse rears up and paws the air with his feet ; then, throwing his rider, comes down above him and fastens him to the ground, and with bowed head and fore-leg thrust forward presses upon him.' *eiecto*, etc., two other renderings of this clause deserve notice, (1) 'falling headlong presses with his shoulder on his prostrate lord ;' *eiecto* being dat., and *armo* abl. instr. But it seems most unnatural to take *eiecto* apart from *armo*. (2) 'Falls headlong to the ground with dislocated shoulder.' But the mention of such an accident to Rhaebus does not seem to the point here. *cernuus*, a rare word for 'head foremost,' probably connected with the root of *κῆρυξ*, *cer-ebrum*, etc.

897. *et super (stans) haec (dicit)*.

899. *hausit caelum*, 'drank in the heaven,' i. e. saw it with his eyes. *This is certainly more poetical than the other interpretation, 'drew breath ;'*

though Juvenal's imitation (iii. 84) *et nostra infantia caelum Hausit Aven-
tinum*, seems to show that he understood the phrase in this way.

901, 903. 'No sin to slay a foe; not such the thought with which I
came to fight, not such the terms my Lausus made with you for me'—i. e.
'No quarter is a matter of course between *us*.' *μιο, ἐν τοῦδε* (i. e. *nefas
esse in caede*).

903. 'By that grace, if any there be, that is due to a conquered foe.'

906. 'Lay me in the tomb beside my son : ' *consortem* with *nati*.

907. *hand inscius*, lit. 'knowingly,' i. e. 'calmly,' 'patiently.'

NOTES TO BOOK XI.

The death of Pallas on the one side, and of Lausus and Mezentius on the other, makes a break in the story of the war, while both sides pause to bury their dead. Aeneas raises a trophy of Mezentius' spoils; and the body of Pallas is sent home to Pallanteum, where Evander laments over it (ll. 1-181). The burial scenes on either side are briefly described (ll. 182-224): and we are then introduced to the discords in the Latin camp, by which the Rutulian fortunes, already on the wane, are still further depressed. Latinus calls a council at Laurentum, and, after the ambassadors sent to ask aid from Diomedes have reported the failure of their mission (ll. 243-295), proposes to come to terms with the Trojans; a proposal supported by Drances, and opposed by Turnus in a vigorous speech, full of the insolence and *violentia* which will be his ruin (ll. 225-444). At the alarm of the approach of Aeneas, Turnus breaks off the council and prepares for fight: and the remainder of the book is devoted to the battle between the Rutulians and Volscians on the one side and Trojans and Etruscans on the other, the chief interest centreing on the prowess of the Volscian Amazon Camilla—a striking and original figure, relieving the somewhat dreary details of fighting. With her death the Rutulian cause is lost, and Turnus alone remains, to be confronted with Aeneas in the final scenes of Book XII.

1. *interea*, of transition to a fresh scene, as x. 1, etc. It cannot here = 'meanwhile,' as the close of Book X leaves us in the battle of the preceding day.

2-4. 'Aeneas, though sorrow spurred him to grant a space for the burial of his comrades, and his mind was troubled by the thought of their death, was paying Heaven's due for his victory at earliest dawn.' *dare*, poetical for *ut det*. *praecipitant*, trans., 'urge him,' an expressive word. *vota deum*, 'the gods' vows,' i. e. vows of which the payment is due to the gods.

5-11. In this description of a *tropaem* the trunk of a tree represents the body of the slain foe. 'Trophies (says Mayor on Iuv. x. 133) were borrowed by the Romans from Greece, and often appear on coins, always in the shape of the trunk of a tree with a cross-bar hung with arms.'

9. *tela trunca*, 'headless shafts,' are the spears of Mezentius which had been shivered against Aeneas' shield.

10, 11. *sinistrae*, *collo*, the tree trunk is identified with the body of the dead warrior. The sword is suspended from the neck by a sword-belt. *eburnum*, with ivory hilt.

15. *quod superest*, i. e. (*de eo*) *quod superest*.

16. **manibus**, ablat. instrum. 'My hands have made Mezentius *this*'—i. e. the *tropaeum* which you see.

18. 'Prepare (for) war in your hearts, and in hope forestall the fight;' cp. l. 491 below (*spe iam praecipit hostem*).

21. **metu**, causal ablat. with **segnis**—'nor faint heart, fear-engendered, make you slow.'

23. **Acheronte sub imo**, 'in Acheron below;' cp. *Manes sub imos* l. 181 below. For the thought cp. Hom. Il. xvi. 674-675 'Ενθα ἔταρχύνουσιν κασίγνητοί τε ἔται τε Τύμβῳ τε στήλῃ τε τὸ γὰρ γέρας ἐστὶ θανάτων.

27, 28. **virtutis egentem**, cp. Il. xiii. 785 οὐδέ τί φημι Ἀλκῆς δευήσεσθαι. **acerbo**, 'untimely,' as vi. 429 (repeated here).

31. On the rhythm see Introd. p. xviii.

33. **alumno**, 'his charge,' to be taken with **datus**.

34, 35. **famulum**, gen. plur.; old form in *-um*, like *Italum* x. 109, *Graium*, x. 333. **maestum crinem de more solutae**, 'their hair unbound after the fashion of mourners.' For the construction see on x. 133.

36. **foribus**, dative after **intulit**.

42. **cum laeta veniret**, 'in her happier hour.'

47. **in magnum imperium**, 'to win a mighty realm.'

49-52. Mr. Storr well compares Tennyson, 'In Memoriam,' vi:

'O father, wheresoe'er thou be,
Who pledgest now thy gallant son;
A shot ere half thy draught be done
Hath stilled the life that beat from thee.'

multum captus, 'befooled by idle hopes.' **fors et**, 'perchance:' cp. il. 139 *fors et poenas ob nostra reposcent Effugia*; Hor. Od. i. 28. 31 *fors et Debila iura vicesque superbae Te maneat ipsum*. The phrase literally = 'it is a chance, and he is making prayers.' **nil iam ... debentem**, 'whose every debt to heaven is paid'—i. e. he is dead, and has nothing more to do with the gods. Cp. Soph. Aj. 589 (where Ajax tells Tecmessa not to adjure him by gods who have done with him), 'Αγαν γε λυπεῖς οὐ κάτοισθ' ἐγὼ θεοῖς 'Ὅς οὐδὲν ἀρκεῖν εἴμ' ὀφειλέτης ἐτι; on which Prof. Jebb remarks that 'this view of the give-and-take relation between gods and men was highly characteristic of ancient paganism:' adding (with reference to Virgil's phrase cited in illustration), 'he was dead, and so his account with the gods was closed: he was quits with them; they had done their worst.'

54-57. 'Is this our return, our looked-for triumph? is this my solemn pledge? And yet not slain in flight by shameful wounds shalt thou behold thy son; nor shalt thou, a father, pray for death, in spite of its terror, because a son yet lives' (i. e. with disgrace). **pulsus** = 'put to flight;' Pallas' wounds were all in front, showing that he had fallen honourably. **ospite nato**, abl. absolute. **dirum funus**, death, otherwise terrible, would be welcomed by the father after his son's dishonour. This is better than to take **optabis funus**, 'will you wish your son were dead.'

59. *deflevit* (intensive 'de-'), of lamenting for the dead, vi. 220; cp. Lucr. iii. 907 *At nos horrifico cinefactum te prope busto Insatiabiliter deflevimus.*

64-67. *crates et molle feretrum* (hendiadys), 'the bier of pliant osier.' *toros*, of the bier, as vi. 220. *agresti stramine*, 'on the rustic litter.' *stra-men* ('that which is strown'), generally = 'straw,' but is here used more widely to denote the layer of foliage on the bier.

68-71. 'So, plucked by maiden's finger, lies a tender violet or drooping hyacinth, its bright hues yet undimmed, its grace unwithered still; but parent earth no longer gives it life and lends it strength.' *languentis hyacinthi*, a Greek rhythm, to which is due the lengthening of the *i* in *languentis*.

73. *laeta laborum*, 'rejoicing in her toil;,' poetical genitive of respect, like *integer vitae, ferox scelerum, &c.*

75. *tenui . . . auro*, 'had streaked the web with threads of gold' (Con.); lit. 'had divided.'

81, 82. 'With hands fast bound behind their backs came captives, to be sent as offerings to the shade (of Pallas), and shed their blood upon his funeral flames.' The antecedent to *quos* must be supplied from *manus*, sc. *eorum*; cp. iv. 597 *en dextra fidesque, Quem secum patrios aiunt portare Penates. caeso sanguine = caesorum sanguine*, a poetical inversion. On the practice of human sacrifices see x. 519, note.

83, 84. The Trojan leaders carry trophies of those whom Pallas had slain, with the names attached to them.

85. *aevo confectus*, 'worn with years.'

87. 'And flings himself to earth and grovels at full length.' *terrae*, probably dative = *in terram*, as *it caelo*, etc. (see on x. 319): but it might possibly be a reminiscence of the locative.

89. *bellator equus*, so *venator canis* xii. 751. The weeping of the horse is perhaps suggested by Il. xvii. 426 sqq., where Achilles' immortal horses weep instinctively, *μάχης ἀνάρευθεν ἰόντες*, at the death of Patroclus. *Aethon* in Homer is the name of one of Hector's horses (Il. viii. 185).

92. *maesta phalanx*, in opposition to *Teucri, Tyrrheni, Arcades*.

93. *versis armis*, 'with arms reversed'—i.e. point downwards, as at modern military funerals; in which also the riderless horse and sword, etc. of the deceased are familiar features:

'But when the warrior dieth,
His comrades in the war,
With arms reversed and muffled drum,
Follow his funeral car:
They show the banners taken,
They tell his battles won,
And after him lead his masterless steed,
While peals the minute-gun.'

(Mrs. Alexander, 'The Burial of Moses,' in 'Lyra Anglicana.')

97, 98. **mihi** (dativus ethicus), cp. χαῖπέ μοι Iliad xxiii. 19, etc. **salve, vale**, the *novissima verba* at a funeral; 'hail for ever, for ever farewell.'

101. **velati**, 'arrayed' with olive-branches—i. e. carrying them in their hands; *non coronati; nec enim lugentes decebat: sed ornati et instructi* (Servius). Cp. vii. 154 *ramis velatos Palladis omnes*; Plaut. Amph. i. 1. 104 *velatis manibus orant*; Ovid. Met. xi. 279 *velamenta manu praetendens supplice. veniam*, 'grace.'

102. The indic. **iacebant** seems irregular in a dependent clause of oratio obliqua; for it can hardly be accounted for here as an inserted observation of the writer. But sometimes, where a relative clause is equivalent to an epithet or definition, the indicative remains: e. g. Liv. iii. 71. 6 (*Scaptius*) *infit annum se tertium et octogesimum agere, et in eo agro, de quo agitur* ('the property in question') *militasse non iuvenem*; Sall. Jug. 54. 1 *Metellus milites hortatur ad cetera, quae levia sunt, parem animum gerant*; ib. 63. 1 *C. Mario magna atque mirabilia portendi haruspex dixerat; proinde, quae animo agitabat* ('his present designs'), *fretus dis ageret*. So here **corpore quae iacebant** = *corpora iacentia*.

104, 105. **aethere cassis**, 'shorn of breath.' **soceris**: Latinus, who had promised his daughter Lavinia to Aeneas, is identified with his people.

109. **qui fugatis**, consecutive, 'that thus you shun our friendship.'

112. **veni** has double peculiarity, (1) indic. for subjunctive, (2) perfect tense instead of pluperfect. *Nec venissem* would be normal; *nec veneram*, a common change for rhetorical liveliness, as in ii. 55 *si mens non laeva fuisset, Impulerat ferro*, etc.; Liv. iii. 19 *nisi Latini sua sponte arma sumpsissent, capti et deleti eramus*. **nec veni** is a more emphatic exaggeration than *nec veneram*: that which *would not* have happened being described as if it *has not* happened.

115. **fuerat**, poetical for *erat*, referring to the battle of the previous day, when the obligations existed. **huic**, the death that these slain have met.

117-119. 'If he is now preparing to end the war by arms and drive the Trojans hence, he should rather have met me with weapons like mine: then *he* of us had lived to whom heaven or his own stout arm had granted life.' The first hint of the single combat which is ultimately to decide the issue. **decut concurrere**, lit. 'he was bound to meet me.' **vixet** = *vixisset*; so i. 201 *accestis*, iv. 606 *extinxem*, v. 786 *traxe*.

121. 'Kept their eyes and faces bent steadfastly upon one another.' **conversi** qualifies **tenebant**, like *intentique ora tenebant* ii. 1.

122, 123. 'Then Drances, old in years, and ever foe in thought and word to his young rival Turnus, thus spoke his mind in answer.' **odis**, feelings of hatred; **crimine**, the expression of them in word. **orsa**, lit. 'attempts,' used poetically for 'words,' 'speech.'

125. **aequem**, deliberative subj.

126. **iustitiae**, for thy justice: genitive of cause, on the analogy of Greek (θαυμάζειν τινά τινας, etc.); cp. Hor. Sat. ii. 6. 84 *neque ille Sepsis cicris nec longae invidit avenae*.

130. *fatalis*, referring to l. 112; 'your destined walls.'

133. *pace sequestra*, 'with peace as mediator;' *sequester*, originally a trustee in whose hands disputed property was placed till the claims on it could be adjudicated. Cicero uses it for the depositary of money intended for bribery, either judicial or electioneering: e. g. Cluent. 8. 25 *quo sequestre in illo iudice corrumpendo dicebatur esse usus*; Planc. 16. 38 *cuius tu tribus venditorem et corruptorem et sequestrem Plancium fuisse clamitas*.

136. *actas ad sidera*, 'carried,' and so 'rising to heaven;' cp. G. ii. 364 *se laetus ad auras Palmy agit*.

141. 'Which so late heralded Pallas victorious in Latium.'

142-144. 'The Arcadians, rushing to the gate, catch up, as wont of old, their funeral torches; the highway glimmers with a long line of light, and parts the fields afar.' *rapuere*, perf. of rapid action. *discriminat*, the torchlight procession is like a bright line drawn across the fields.

149. *reposito*, 'set down' (of the bier).

151. 'And words scarce won their way for grief at last.' The alliteration expresses pathos; cp. ii. 494 note, x. 821.

152, 153. 'Not such, my Pallas, the promise that you made me—the promise to trust yourself less rashly to the perils of war.' The construction is a difficulty, *promitto ut* being unknown in classical Latin. Some editors put a stop at *parenti*, and regard *ut velles* as a wish: but this is certainly harsh. Others conj. *petenti* for *parenti*. Probably *ut velles* should be regarded as explanatory of *promissa*: cp. the 'explanatory' or 'appositional' use of *ut* in such expressions as Cic. Leg. Man. 21. 62, *quid tam inusitatum quam ut eques Romanus . . . mitteretur*?

156-163. 'O gallant youth thus blighted in the bud! O cruel lesson of battle all too near! alas, for heaven's deaf ear to vows and prayers! How blest art thou, mine honoured spouse—blest in thy death, nor spared to see a grief like this: while I have overlived my span of years, to linger on a childless father (*superstes*)! O, had but the Rutulians been whelming me with their spears, as I followed the friendly cause of Troy! O, had I yielded up my life, and this train were bearing me, not Pallas, home!' *propinqui*, because otherwise Evander would not have sent his son. *viol mea fata*, i. e. have lived longer than the natural period, according to which the son should survive the father. *obruerent, dedissem, referret*, past jussives; the imperfect, as opposed to the pluperf., denoting a *continued* action in the past. Cp. viii. 643 *at tu dictis, Albane, maneres*.

165. *sors ista*, 'your fate,' i. e. death which you Teucri are now reporting.

166-168. 'But if untimely death was fated for my son, 'twill gladden me that he fell while leading Trojans against Latium, with many a Volscian slain before.' *invabit*: the other reading *iuuaret*, though equally well supported by the MSS., makes much inferior sense, as it would represent Evander as discontented with his son's exploits, which is inconsistent with l. 172.

171. The repetition of *Tyrrhenum* takes the place of a copula; see on

x. 313. For the form **Tyrrhenum** cp. *Troum* l. 161 above, and see on l. 34.

172. 'They bring great trophies of slain foes, sent by your hand to death.' **tropaea** (sc. *eorum*) **quos**; cp. l. 81 above, *vinxerat et post terga manus, quos mitteret umbris*. On the present **dat** see note to x. 518.

174. 'Had his (i. e. Pallas') age and the strength of his years (lit. 'arising from his years') been the same.'

175. **armis**, 'from battle.'

177-181. 'That I linger on the life I loathe now Pallas has gone, your arm is the cause—the arm that you see owes Turnus both to son and sire. This place alone is left you for your valour and fortune to fill. 'Tis no joys of life I seek—'twere wrong I should: I ask to bear joyous news for my son to the shades below.' Evander only lives to claim from Aeneas his due of Turnus' life, and to be able to take good news (**perferre**, sc. *gaudia*) to Pallas in the underworld. **meritis** is dat. of indirect reference, **tibi** dat. of recipient, with **vacat**. **Manes sub imos**, see above on l. 23.

182. **miseris mortalibus**, Homer's *δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσι*.

187. For **conditur in tenebras** cp. *conditus in nubem* G. i. 442.

189. **decurrere**, 'marched round.' Liv. xxv. 17 describes a *decursio funebris*, i. e. a march of troops round their general's funeral pile; cp. Tac. Ann. ii. 7. 4 (of Germanicus at the burying-place of the legions of Varus) *restituit aram, honorique patris princeps ipse cum legionibus decurrit*. The custom is as old as Homer: cp. Il. xxiii. 13 *Οἱ δὲ τῆς περὶ νεκρὸν ἑστρίχας ἤλασαν ἵππους Μυρόμενοι*.

190. **lustrare**, 'rode round:' cp. vii. 391 *te lustrare choro*.

192. **caelo**, 'to heaven,' poetical dat. of recipient, instead of prep. and case.

194-196. **igni**, dat. of recipient, like **caelo** just above. **ferventes**, 'glowing;' a stock epithet (e.g. *fervidus axis* G. iii. 107), here hardly appropriate, as the wheels were shortly to 'glow' with real flames. **munera nota**, 'familiar offerings,' i. e. the arms which they used to wear during life.

197-199. **Morti**, 'to Death,' which is here personified as a goddess.

200. **servare**, 'keep watch by.'

202. The heaven was regarded as a hollow sphere, part light and part dark, which by its revolution brought day and night. Thus ii. 250 *vertitur interea caelum et ruit oceano nox*. **aptum** in its original participial sense 'fitted,' and so 'decked with glittering stars.'

204-206. **partim . . . partim** distinguishes bodies buried on the spot, and bodies carried off elsewhere; the latter either to neighbouring territories or to Laurentum itself (**urbi**).

207, 208. **cetera**, sc. *corpora*; **que** is explanatory;—'The rest, an undistinguished heap of dead, they burn without honour or distinction.' **numero** = 'position,' 'dignity;' cp. the double meaning of our word 'account.' So Caesar, B. G. vi. 13 *hominum qui aliquo sunt numero honore* (of some account and position).

211, 212. 'Sadly they gathered up the piles of ashes and bones all mingled in the fires, and covered them with mounds of warm earth.' *foeis* are the remains of the funeral pyres; and Virgil apparently means that the various heaps of ashes and bones were shovelled together into one place, and then buried. For *ruere* = 'heap together' cp. Hor. Sat. ii. 5. 22 *acervos ruere*. *tepido*, owing to the warmth of the various funeral pyres.

213. *praedivitis* is not, as Servius thought, an 'incongruous' epithet; but points the contrast between past prosperity and present misfortunes—'Latinus' lordly town.'

219. *qui poscat*, causal, 'since he claims.'

220. *ingravat haec*, 'embitters their wrath' (Sidg.), lit. 'weighs down.'

222. *varis diotis*, abl. of manner, 'many a judgment in varied language is given on Turnus' side.'

223, 224. *obumbrat*, 'screens him.' *meritis*, 'won.'

226. *super*, 'to crown all.'

230. *petendum*, found in some MSS., and supported by Servius and other grammarians, is probably the right reading, being harder than *petendam*. It is an instance of the impersonal gerundive followed by an accus., like *poenas timendum est* Lucr. i. 112; *agitandum est vigilias* Plaut. Trin. iv. 2. 27. The constr. is very rare except in early writers.

231. *deficit*, 'loses heart;' cp. Cic. Att. i. 16. 9 *ne una plaga accepta patres conscripti conciderent, ne deficerent*.

232. 'That Aeneas comes hither by fate under clear will of heaven . . .'

236, 237. *olli*, old form of *illi*, seen in *olim*. *plenis viis*, 'along the crowded roads,' abl. of place.

238. *primus sceptris*, 'first in regal power.'

239. *hic*, 'hereupon.' *Aetola urbe*, Arpi; see on x. 28.

241. *linguis*, probably dative.

243. *Diomedem*, though found only in late MSS., seems preferable to *Diomede* approved by Servius as a Greek accusative (*Διομήδεα*, -η). *Diomedem*, the reading of most MSS., is impossible on metrical grounds, but may have easily arisen from *Diomedem*; final *m* and *n* being often confused, especially in accus. of proper names.

246, 247. *Argyripa* or *Arpi*, said to be from *Ἀργος ἱππιον*. Diomedes was an Aetolian (l. 239 above), but married Aegialea, heiress of Argos. For helping Danaus in his war against the Messapi (*victor*), he received territory round Mount Garganus in Apulia. *Iapygia* is used loosely for 'Apulian,' Iapygia being a part of that district.

251. *auditis*, probably abl. absol., 'our speeches heard.'

252. *Saturnia regna*, 'realms where Saturn once was king,' i.e. in the golden age, as described viii. 319 sqq.

256, 257. 'I speak not of the toils of war endured beneath Troy's lofty walls, or the dead that famous Simois hides.' *exhausta*, lit. 'drained to the dregs,' as x. 56. *premat*, indirect interrogative.

259, 260. *vel Priamo miseranda* is like Aeneas' language in ii. 6 *Quis talia fando, Myrmidonum Dolopumve aut duri miles Ulixi Temperet a lacrimis?* *triste Minervae sidus*, 'Minerva's baleful star,' i. e. the storm sent by Minerva at the departure of the Greeks. *sidus*, from denoting 'season,' 'weather' comes to be used as 'a storm,' as in xii. 451 *abrupto sidere*. *Caphereus*, a promontory in Euboea where many of the Greek ships were wrecked on their return from Troy. The story was that Nauplius, king of Euboea, in revenge for his son Palamedes having been put to death by the Greeks, hung out false lights there, and so caused the wreck: hence *ultor*, 'avenging.'

261-263. *abaoti* agrees with the general subject, which is subdivided into *Menelaus* and *Ulixes*. *diversum litus*, 'a distant shore.' *Protei columnas* is a curious expression for Egypt at the eastern end of the Mediterranean, on the analogy of *Herculis columnae*, the well-known 'Pillars of Hercules' (i. e. the Rock of Gibraltar and the 'Apes Hill' opposite) at its western end. For Proteus, the mythic king of Egypt, and the legends of Menelaus' visit to him after Troy, see Hom. Od. iv. 81 sqq., and Eur. Helena. *adusque*, 'all the way to.' *exsulat*, 'wanders in exile.'

264, 265. *regna Neoptolemi*, Neoptolemus had been killed by Orestes, and his kingdom was divided, part going to Helenus, son of Priam, and captive of Neoptolemus, see iii. 325 sqq. *versos penates*, 'ruined home;' Idomeneus, king of Crete, having slain his son in fulfilment of a vow, was expelled by the people. The rendering 'changed home,' on the analogy of *vertere solum* ('to go abroad'), seems less natural. *Locros*, the Opuntian Locrians followed Ajax Oileus to Troy, and after his death some of them were said to have settled in Africa.

266-268. '(Why tell of these?) Mycenae's lord, the leader of the mighty Greeks himself, died by the hand of an accursed spouse or ere he came within his hall: an adulterer lay in wait for the conqueror of Asia.' *prima inter limina* is only a poetical expression for Agamemnon's death on reaching home, and need not point to any different version of the story from that known to Homer and Aeschylus. *devictam Asiam*, a bold expression for *victorem Asiae*. For *subsedit* cp. Lucan. v. 226 *subsiderere regnum Chalcidos Euboicae, vana spe raptæ, parabas*. Conington's suggestion that *subsedit*=acted as *ἑφ' ἑδρος* (the odd man who waits to fight the conqueror), and so 'took up the feud after conquered Asia,' is ingenious but lacks authority. Servius approves a v. l. *devicta Asia*, which would remove much difficulty; but it has little MS. authority.

269, 270. *invidisse*, exclamatory infinitive, 'to think that heaven grudged my return.' Cp. Plaut. Aul. 336 *tibi recte facere, quando quod facias perii!* To make *invidisse* depend on *referam* (l. 264), and regard ll. 266-268 as parenthetical, would be intolerably harsh. *Calydon*, in Aetolia, Diomedes' ancestral home. *coniugium*=*coniugem*, as ii. 579.

271 sqq. The story was that Diomedes' companions, for insult to *Venus*, were changed into sea-birds (*Diomedææ aves*); see Ovid, Met. xiv. 496.

275. 'Not less than this had I to look for from that very hour, when—fool that I was!—I struck at forms divine, and profaned the hand of Venus with a wound.' *haec adeo* = 'exactly this' as in vii. 427, *adeo* in such cases being a particle of emphasis. *violavi vulnere*. In II. v. 330 sqq. Diomedes wounds Aphrodite while rescuing Aeneas.

280. 'With no joy do I recall the evils of the past.' *memini laetorve* = *laetus meminī*, hence the genitive *malorum*.

283, 284. *quantus . . . hastam*, 'how he towers with lifted shield, with what a rush he hurls his spear.' The attitude of striking at an enemy is here called 'rising up to the shield,' as in xii. 729, 'rising up to the sword.' Conington has a spirited paraphrase:

'Myself have faced him on the field,
And tried the combat's chance;
I know the arms his hand can wield,
The thunder of his lifted shield,
The lightning of his lance.'

286, 287. *ultra*, 'even;' i.e. over and above the Greek invasion of Troy would have come a return invasion of Greece. *ultra* = anything 'beyond' what is natural or expected. *Dardanus*, 'the Trojan;' sing. for plural. Note the change of tense in *lugeret*, 'would now be mourning.'

288-290. 'Through all the long delay before Troy's stubborn walls, 'twas by Hector's and Aeneas' might that Grecian success stood still, held back for ten long years.' The construction is slightly irregular: *quidquid cessatum est* would naturally be followed by some expression = 'was caused by Aeneas and Hector;' but *victoria haesit* is substituted.

292. *pistate*, 'pious worth;' see note to i. 378.

295. *magno bello*, abl. of circumstance, 'his advice under our heavy war' (Con.).

300, 301. *trepida* implies confusion and hurry, as x. 283: 'soon as their minds were calmed and the storm of tongues was still.' *praeafatus divos*, 'first invoking the gods,' according to a common practice of Greek orators (e.g. Demosthenes at the opening of the 'De Corona'), and (as Servius says) of Cato and the old Romans. Cicero (Divin. xiii. 43) speaks of it as obsolete—*Tu si quid ex vetere aliqua oratione Iovem optimum maximum . . . aut aliquid eiusmodi ediscere potueris, praeclare te paratum in iudicium venturum arbitraris?* *divos*, unusual construction with acc. of person addressed.

303. *vellem*, 'I could wish.' *fuerat*, 'it had been better,' for *fuisse*, vivid use of indic. for subj., that which *would have* been, being stated as if it had been: cp. ii. 55, *si mens non laeva fuisset, Impulerat*.

305-307. *importunum*, 'unlucky,' 'ill-fated;' as G. i. 470 *obscenaeque canes importunaeque volucres*. *fatigant*, 'tire out.' For *neo victi*, etc., Mr. Storr well compares Napoleon's saying of the English—'They do not know when they are beaten.'

809. **ponitē. spes** . . . , a metrical licence unique in Virgil; perhaps justified by the pause in sense, like the hiatus in i. 405. Horace has a short vowel before 'st' three times—all in the *sermoni prior* hexameter of his Satires, e.g. *Saepe stilum vertas* i. 10. 72, cp. i. 2. 30, 71: Virgil seems to avoid the occurrence of such a vowel at all before 'sp,' 'st,' 'sc,' except in certain cases where it is lengthened in imitation of Homeric rhythm. **haec**, sc. *spes*: **quam angusta**, sc. *sit*.

310, 311. 'In what utter ruin all else lies crushed, 'tis all for eyes to see and hands to feel'—i.e. your own senses are evidence. **oetera** with **rerum**, like *opaca locorum, occulta saltuum*, &c. **sunt omnia**, a slightly irregular variation for the natural *est omnino*.

312, 313. **plurima, μεγίστη δύσα**: 'all that valour at its best could be, has been ours: we have fought with all our kingdom's strength.'

314. **adeo** emphasises **nunc**, as ix. 156. See on l. 275 above.

316-319. **Tusco amni**, Tiber. **super usque** = *usque super*, 'right up to and beyond,' 'even beyond.' Latinus has a domain long attached (**antiquus**) to the crown, stretching to the West (**longus in occasum**) along the Tiber; formerly occupied by Sicani (old settlers in Latium, cp. viii. 328), now by Auruncans and Rutulians. **pascunt**, 'graze,' i.e. feed flocks upon; an exceptional use of the word, which generally takes an accus. of those who are fed. Tibullus, however (ii. 5. 25), has *Sed tunc pascebant herbosa Palatia vaccae*, a somewhat similar usage.

321. **cedat amicitiae Teucrorum**, 'let it be surrendered to the friendship of the Trojans,' a concise way of saying 'let it be surrendered to secure their friendship.'

322. **socios**, 'as partners.'

323. **amōr**, et, for the quantity see Introd. p. xvii.

325. **possunt**, = *τλῶσιν*—'can bring themselves to.'

328. **modum**, 'size.'

329. **navalia**, 'stores' or 'gear;' not as in iv. 593, 'docks.' **manus**, 'hands' (i.e. men), as in the common English phrase.

332. **pauis ramos**, i.e. olive branches wreathed with wool, the symbol of supplication.

334. Virgil thinks of the Roman custom of sending the curule chair and robe of state to kings whom they wished to honour—e.g. to Syphax, Liv. xxvii. 4 *dona tulere togam et tunicam purpuream, sellam eburneam, patenam ex quinque pondo auri factam. regni insignia*, 'badges of royalty.'

335. **in medium**, 'for the common weal' or perhaps 'openly.' Both meanings are possible.

336-342. 'Then Drances, hostile as before (**idem**), whom Turnus' fame was ever goading with bitter pricks of sidelong envy, lavish of wealth and ready of tongue—but his arm was slow for fight—at council held a name of weight, and powerful in faction (his mother's noble rank gave him high descent, obscure was that he drew from his father)—Drances rose up

swelling and increasing their passions with these words.' *obliqua*, 'indirect' or 'sidelong,' and so treacherous: cp. Hor. Epp. i. 14. 37 *Non istic obliquo oculo mea commoda quisquam Limat*. For *largus opum* Conwell compares Lucan's description of Pompey (i. 131) *famaeque petitor Multa dare in vulgus, totus popularibus auris Impelli*, etc.—the idea in each case being that of influence gained by lavish expenditure. *futtilis* (i. e. *fud-tilis*, from stem *fud-* of *fundo*), originally of vessels that are easily poured out (*vasa futtilia*); then of a man who is 'leaky,' cannot keep silence, and so weak, untrustworthy.

342-345. *rem consulis*; so Liv. ii. 28. 2 *rem delatam consulere*. The construction is rather unusual. *ferat*, 'suggests,' lit. 'brings to us;' cp. Cic. Fam. i. 7. 6 *quid res, quid causa, quid tempus ferat, facillime perspicies*. *musant*, 'hesitate,' as in xii. 657; lit. 'mutter.'

346-350. 'Let him grant free speech and calm his swelling pride—he by whose evil auspices and unlucky temper we see that the sun of so many chiefs has set, and a city is plunged in grief.' *auspicium*: Turnus being general, the battle was fought under his auspices, according to Roman ideas. *ducum*, descriptive genitive with *lumina*, 'glorious chiefs.'

354. *ullius violentia*, i. e. Turni.

358, 359. *cedat, remittat* (subjunctives in *petitio obliqua*) define *veniam* (= 'grace' or 'favour,')—'beg him of his grace to yield, and grant to king and country their just rights (i. e. the right to dispose of Lavinia as they think fit).'

360 sqq. Drances, having as yet only broadly hinted at Turnus without naming him, now turns round upon him with an open challenge.

362. *bello*, 'in war,' abl.

363. *pignus*, i. e. resignation of Lavinia.

365. *esse nil moror*, 'I care not if I am,' lit. 'I do not object to be,' cp. Cic. Phil. xiii. 17. 35 *nil moror eos salvos esse et ire quo lubet*.

369. *dotalis regia*, 'the dower of a palace.' *cordi est*, 'is dear;' see on x. 252.

373-375. *sternamur*, 'are we to fall,' delib. subj. *etiam tu*, etc., 'do thou likewise, if any might is thine, if thou hast one spark of native fire, look him that calls thee (i. e. Aeneas) fairly in the face.' *etiam* with *tu*, which it strongly emphasises, in opposition to *nos* above.

377. *rumpit voces*, 'breaks forth,' Gk. *ἔρρηξε φωνήν*; so *rumpit vocem* ii. 129.

381, 382. *tuto tibi*, dat. ethicus: *magna*, transferred from the antecedent *verbis*—'that big talk you vent in safety, while ramparts keep the foe at bay, ere yet the trenches run with blood.'

383-386. *proinde tona*, 'then thunder on;' *proinde* is common with imperatives expressing scorn. See l. 400 below. *solitum*, accus. in apposition to *tona eloquio*. *quando*, etc. is of course ironical. *Teuororum*, depending on *stragis acervos* regarded as one notion, 'heaps of slaughtered Trojans.' *insignis*, from *insignio*.

389, 390. 'Are we going to meet them? Why so slow? Or will you never show fight but in that windy tongue and in those flying feet?' *Mavorn* = martial spirit or prowess; so 'Aρης in Greek, Eur. Phoen. 134 (of Tydeus) 'Aρη δ' Αἰτωλῶν ἐν στέρνοισι ἔχει.

392-396. *pulsus ego?* refers to Drances' words, l. 366. *Bitias* and *Pandarus*, Trojans slain by Turnus, see ix. 672 sqq.

397. *die*, 'in one day.'

399-402. "'No hope in war." Go, fool, and croak such bodings to the Dardan and your own fortunes. Ay, cease not to spread wild alarms, to extol the strength of yon twice-conquered race, and disparage the cause of Latinus!' Turnus repeats Drances' words, l. 362. *cane*, of prophecy, oracles being frequently delivered in verse. *capiti* = 'person,' as often; the 'Dardan man' being Aeneas.

403-405. 'Now, forsooth, the Myrmidon chiefs tremble at the Phrygian arms, now Tydeus' son and Achilles of Larissa tremble, and the river Auidus flies back from the Hadriatic waves.' A sarcastic reference to the report of Diomedes' unwillingness to fight the Trojans. 'You say the victorious Greeks are afraid of the Phrygians: it is as likely that rivers should flow back from the sea.' The *Auidus* is chosen, as being a river in Diomedes' territory in Apulia.

406, 407. Turnus continues his sarcastic vein: 'Then again, when he feigns to cower before my threats (ll. 348, 357), a rogue's base trick, and by talk of fear adds venom to his charge.' *vel cum*, the apodosis to this clause is omitted, but the omission is easily supplied by the reader, and is natural enough in a rhetorical speech. *soelus*, accus. in apposition to the sentence, as above l. 383. Some editors take *artificis soelus* as nom. = *artifex scelestus*, i. e. Drances himself.

408. *absiste moveri*, 'fear not'; *absiste* = *noli*.

413. *neque habet regressum*, 'cannot be repaired,' lit. 'cannot retrace its steps.'

416. *mihi*, dat. ethicus: 'I hold him happy above others in his toil, and noble in soul.' *laberum*, gen. of respect or definition, like *integer vitae*, etc. On *animi*, see note to x. 686.

423. *tempestas*, 'the storm has swept over all alike.'

425-427. 'Many things have been bettered by time, and the changeful toil of chequered years: many men hath Fortune, with alternate visits, made sport of, and once more placed on solid ground.' *alterna revisens*, lit. 'revisiting by turns,' i. e. coming sometimes as good fortune, sometimes as bad.

433. *florentes aere*, 'gleaming with brass,' lit. 'blooming,' repeated vii. 804. Lucret. also uses *florens* of things glittering, e.g. iv. 450 *florientia lumina flammis*, i. 900 *flammae flore coorto*.

436. *adeo* refers to *ut*, 'so hated that.'

438-440. 'I will boldly meet him though he show the valour of Achilles' self, and don arms like his, the work of Vulcan's hands.' *ante*

abl. of circumstance, 'with courage.' *praestet*, 'represent,' i.e. prove himself a second Achilles. *paria*, sc. *armis Achillis*.

442-444. 'Tis me alone Aeneas calls: I pray he call me still—I pray that if this mean Heaven's wrath, no Drances in my stead may pay the forfeit of death: or win the day, if it mean brave deeds and glory.' Whatever be the issue, says Turnus, he will abide it himself. *haec* attracted to the gender of *ira*, as usual in Latin. *vocet*, *lucet*, subj. in *petitio obliqua* after *oro*.

447. *nuntius*, 'news.'

450. *totis campis*, local ablative, 'over all the plain.'

452. *arrectae*, here in a general sense, 'aroused,' 'excited.'

453. *manu*, i.e. with gestures. *fremit*, 'shout for,' as vii. 460 *arma amens fremit*—a slightly extended use of the verb.

454. *musant*, 'mutter,' expresses the helpless state of doubt they are in.

457. *Padusa*, one of the mouths of the Po.

458. *loquacia*, 'noisy,' because of the cries of the swans.

460. *sedentes* is emphatic: 'sit still, and prate of peace.'

463. *maniplos*, the reading of some MSS., is preferred by Ribb. to *manipulis* to avoid four consecutive lines ending in *-is*: perhaps a valid reason, as Virgil is particular in such matters.

464. *Messapus*, nom. for vocative; cp. viii. 77 *semper celebrare domis*, Corniger *Hesperidum fluvius*. Hor. A.P. 292 *Vos, o Pompilius sanguis*.

467. *iusso* (= *iub-so*), an old future form analogous to *faxo* (*fac-so*), *recepso*, etc. It seems to have been regarded as, if not a contraction from, at least equivalent in meaning to, 2 fut. *iussero*; cp. Seneca, Epist. 58 (vi. 6. 4) *dicebant antiqui si iusso, id est si iussero*. *Hoc nolo mihi credas, sed eidem Vergilio*: '*Cetera, quae iusso, mecum manus inferat arma*.'

468. *tota urbe*, 'throughout the city,' local abl.

469. *patēr et*, see Introd. p. xvii.

471, 472. *acceperit*, subj. with causal *qui*: 'blames himself for not having at once (*ultro*, sooner than he need) received Aeneas.' *urbi*, the king and people being identified, as above l. 105. Mr. Storr appropriately compare's Shakespeare's application of the names 'France,' 'England,' to kings.

473. *praefodiunt*, 'dig pits in front of the gates,' 'intrench.'

476. *labor ultimus*, 'the final struggle.'

477. *summas Palladis aroes*, the temple of Pallas was apparently in the citadel, like the Parthenon at Athens.

480. On the hiatus *tanti, oculos*, see Introd. p. xviii. *oculos delecta*, 'her eyes cast down,' acc. after pass. part. in imitation of Greek: see on x. 133.

487. *iamque adeo*, 'yea even now,' *adeo* serving as a particle of emphasis, as often. For *rutilum*, the reading *Rutulum* has better MS. support; but nothing is known of Rutulian breastplates, and *rutilum* is

more appropriate, as the brightness of Turnus' armour is specially dwelt on by Virgil. The two words might easily be confused. **thoraca indutus**, for the constr. cp. l. 480 above, and see note on x. 133.

491. **praecipit**, 'forestalls'; cp. l. 18 above.

492-497. 'As when a horse hath snapped his rein and fled the stall, rejoicing to be free; the open plain once gained, he makes for the herd of pastured mares; or wont of old to bathe in the well-known stream, darts forth and with head tossed high in air exulting neighs: his mane over neck and shoulder plays.' Virgil follows closely a well-known simile of Homer (*Ὡς δ' ὅτε τις σταρὸς ἵππος*, κ.τ.λ. Il. vi. 506); the previous imitation of which by Ennius illustrates by contrast the superior finish of Virgil's hexameter:

*Et tum, sicut equus, qui de praeseptibus factus
Vincula suis magnis animis abruptit, et inde
Fert sese campi per caerula laetaque prata
Celso pectore, saepe iubam quassat simul altam,
Spiritus ex anima calida spumas agit albas.*

(Ann. fragm. incert., cited Macrob. vi. 3: ll. 503-507).

ille, a pleonastic use of the pronoun, to resume the subject of the sentence; common in Virgil, e.g. i. 3 *multum ille et terris iactatus*, etc. It adds vividness and emphasis to the expression. **luxurians** recalls, in meaning and rhythm, Homer's *κυδίζων*.

501. **defluxit**, 'lighted down'; the word denotes ease and grace of movement.

502. **sui** with **fiducia**, 'if a brave man may justly confide in himself.'

504. **sola ire**, the simple infinitive with the nominative is substituted for the acc. and infin., the ordinary construction after **promitto**; cp. iv. 306 *sperasti tacitus decedere*.

505. **manu**, see on l. 453 above.

508. The term **deus Italiae**, here applied to Camilla, may have influenced Dante's selection of her name among those of the heroes of the Aeneid (*Inferno* i. 106):

*Di quell' umile Italia fia salute,
Per cui morio la vergine Camilla,
Eurialo e Niso e Turno di ferute.*

Mr. Myers, in the paper already cited (*Introd.* p. xii), infers that in Camilla, 'whose name leapt first of all to Virgil's lips as he spoke to Dante of their Italy in the underworld,' we may perhaps trace 'the poet's own ideal and inward dream of womanhood.' But, interesting as the picture of this warrior and huntress maiden unquestionably is, it is not to be compared in force or pathos with that of Dido: and if Virgil's own ideal is not enshrined in the fourth Aeneid, still less is it to be found in the *eleventh*.

509, 510. **sed nunc**, etc., 'but now, since your soul is above all prais-

or thanks, let me share the task with you:’ i.e. since I cannot hope to repay you, let me at least share the danger.

511-514. ‘Aeneas, as I surely learn from rumour and our scouts’ report, has cunningly sent on his light-armed horse with orders to scour the plains; himself across the ridge along the lonely mountain heights is marching on our town. *fidem* = ‘credence,’ ‘proof.’ *improbis* denotes unscrupulousness of various kinds, the exact shade of meaning being determined by the particular context, e.g. ‘bold,’ ‘shameless,’ ‘fierce,’ ‘crafty,’ etc. The cunning and activity of an enemy seem naturally blameable. *quaterent*, *petitio obliqua* depending on the notion of command implied in *praemissit*. *iugo superans*, lit. ‘getting across (the hills) upon the ridge’ (local abl.).

515, 516. ‘An ambush I am preparing in the sloping forest path, to beset the narrow passage with armed men.’ *convexo*, here merely ‘sloping.’ The defile (*fauces*) is called *bivias*, as being a thoroughfare, with passage through in both directions: so *bivio portas* ix. 238.

517. *excipe*, ‘meet,’ of a hostile encounter, as often.

519. *ducis et tu*, etc., ‘do you too assume a general’s office,’ i.e. as well as myself: cp. l. 510 above.

522. *valles*, nom. sing., as in vii. 565, where there is a similar description of a wooded gorge.

525. *aditus maligni*, ‘scant approaches.’ *malignus*, ‘niggardly,’ often has the sense of ‘narrow,’ ‘scanty,’ etc.

526, 527. ‘Above it, high upon the far hill-top, a table-land lies out of ken, a safe retreat.’ The *que* in each case (*speculis summoque in vertice*, *planities tutique receptus*) is explanatory. *specula*, properly a look-out post, here a hill-top. *receptus*, technically ‘a place of refuge and rallying for an army,’ here ‘a retreat’ in general. Con. prefers, against the MS. authority, the more accurate word *recessus*: but *receptus* gives a sense sufficiently near to that required, and Virgil is apt to prefer unusual words or meanings when more obvious ones were ready to hand.

529. *instare iugis*, ‘stand on the heights.’

530, 531. *regione viarum*, ‘the line of path:’ *regio* (from *rego*) properly = a straight line. *iniquis*, ‘treacherous,’ as being the scene of the ambush.

537. *iste*, ‘of which I tell you.’ Wagner (Q. V. xix. 2) compares ix. 139 *iste dolor (quo me tangi cernitis)*; 428 *nihil iste nec ausus (quem vultis interficere)*; xi. 165 *sors ista (qua me afflictum videtis)*; x. 504 *spolia ista (quae videtis)*. The connection with the 2nd person in such cases is, as Wagner points out, *paulo obscurior*: i.e. instead of implying ‘that which belongs to you,’ it only implies ‘that which you see, know, feel to be the case.’

539. *invidiam viresque* is almost a hendiadys—‘hatred, and the power which caused it,’ i.e. ‘hatred of his haughty power.’

543. *camilla* and *camillus* denoted attendants at certain sacred rites.

camillus was generally supposed to be derived from an older *casmilus*, Virgil here seems to imply that *Camilla* is from an older *Camilla*.

Casmilus was the name of one of the Cabeiric gods worshipped at Samothrace; and the connexion of the word with *camillus* may be a mere piece of archaeological fancy.

547, 548. *fugae medio*, 'hindering his flight.' *summis ripis*, local abl., 'over the top of its banks.'

550, 551. *omnia* . . . *sedit*, 'as he thought on every plan, at last he fixed suddenly on this.' *subito* implies that his resolution was rapidly taken; *vix*, that it was taken with reluctance.

553. *ocho*, 'seasoned' or 'hardened.'

554, 555. *huic*, a natural irregularity after *telum*. *libro et silvestri subere*, hendiadys, = 'bark of forest cork-tree.' *habilem*, proleptic, 'so as to be easily wielded,' 'binds her neatly round the middle of the shaft' (Con.).

558, 559. *tua prima*, etc., 'the first weapon she wields is there, as in supplication she flies from the foe through the air.' *tela*, the spear to which she is tied is spoken of as a hunting-spear, and so appropriate to Diana. *tenens*, she is said to hold the spear to which she is fastened.

562. *sonnere undae*, 'loud roared the waters:' a graphic poetical touch, emphasising the danger of her flight. The other interpretation 'echoed with the hurdling of the spear' would be a rather tasteless exaggeration.

566. *donum Triviae*, 'his offering to Trivia,' the spear and the babe being dedicated to the goddess in accordance with his vow, l. 557 above.

568. 'Nor would his savage nature have suffered him to yield.' *feritate*, ablative of cause. *manus dare*, properly 'to surrender to an enemy,' here poetically of yielding to the restraints of civilised life.

569. 'Among the shepherds' lonely mountains he passed his life.' *et* couples the sentence loosely with what precedes 'and so.' Some editors, less probably, take *pastorum* with *aevum*, 'a shepherd's life:' *et* then joining *pastorum* and *solis montibus* as epithets of *aevum*.

570, 571. *horrentia lustra*, 'tangled lairs.' *mammis et lacte*, hendiadys: 'with milk from the breast of a wild mare of the herd.'

573, 574. lit. 'but when the child first planted her footsteps with the soles of her feet.' *vestigia*, cognate accusative, like *ludum ludere*, etc. The whole phrase is highly artificial.

576, 577. The tiger's skin could not well serve as a headband (*orinali auro*): but Virgil means that it was her only ornament.

579, 580. *tereti*, perhaps 'shapely' and so 'well twisted,' for which sense Con. cites Catull. lxiv. 65 *tereti strophio lactantes vincta papillas*. Ellis, however, *ad loc.*, citing Martial xiv. 66 to show that such breast-bands were sometimes made of leather, suggests that *tereti* may = of smooth leather: so that possibly *tereti habena* = 'with smooth leather thong,' agreeably to the original force of the word; see note to viii. 633. *moniam*, a constant epithet: see Ecl. i. 55, x. 59, G. iii. 345.

587. *acerbis*, of premature death, as often; lit. 'sour,' 'unripe.'

590. **haec**, Diana's bows and arrows, which she hands to Opis.

592. **Tros Italusque**, 'Trojan and Italian alike.' This virtually = Trojan or Italian: so that Servius' note (*sive eam Troianus interemerit sive aliquis de Aenaeae auxiliis*) need not imply that he read *Italusve*, which Con., against the MS. authority, prefers to **Italusque**.

593. **nube cava**, 'enfolding cloud.'

594. **tumulo**, poetical dat. of recipient for the ordinary *in tumultum*. **patriae reponam**, 'restore to her own land.'

595, 596. **levis delapsa**, 'speeding lightly down.' **insonuit**, 'hurtled'; probably referring to the noise of her weapons. **circumdاتا corpus**, for the constr. see note on x. 133 above.

599. **compositi** . . . **turmas**, 'arranged by number into troops,' i.e. into troops of equal numbers.

600. **habenis**, dative, 'chafes against the tightened reins.'

601. **obversus**, more graphic than the v.l. *versus*. **ferreus**, perhaps proleptic, 'far and wide the field bristles with the steel of the spears.'

606. **protendunt longe**, of spears in rest, projecting in front of man and horse:

'With hands drawn back, they couch the spear,
And aim the dart in full career' (Con.).

607. 'Hotter grows the onset of the men and the neighing of the steeds,' a graphic metaphor to express the swift approach of cavalry.

609. For the elision of **que** (hypermetric syllable) before **exhortantur** in the next line, see *Intro.* p. xix.

612-617. 'Forthwith Tyrrhenus and gallant Aconteus charge furiously (**conixi**) with lance in rest, and, first to fall, come thundering to the ground, crashing and shattering each horse's breast: Aconteus from his seat (**excussus**), like lightning-bolt or heavy shot, is hurled afar, and scatters his life to the winds.'

619. **reiciunt parmas**, 'sling their bucklers behind them,' i.e. to protect their backs in flight.

622-623. **mollia colla** (sc. equorum), 'bending' or 'limber necks.' **penitus** with **referuntur**, 'flee far away.'

624 sqq. For this description of the alternate advance and retreat of successive waves cp. x. 289. **scopulos superiacit unda**, an inversion for *scopulis superiacit undam*; cp. *socios circumtulit unda* vi. 229. **sinu**, 'curling wave.'

630. 'Twice, beaten back, they glance behind them, covering their backs with their shields.' **armis terga tegentes** = *reiciunt parmas*, above l. 619.

632. **legit virum vir**, 'each picked out his man' (for single combat); a poetical application of the old military phrase *vir virum legit*, of a particular kind of conscription (Liv. ix. 39. 3, x. 38. 7), in which individual soldiers chose other individuals in order to make up an army.

The expression is applied by Tacitus (Hist. i. 18) to Galba's adoption of Piso *more divi Augusti et exemplo militari quo vir virum legeret*.

641. *armis*, probably from *arma*, as iv. 11 *quam forti pectore et armis*, and not from *armi*, as Con. suggests.

644. *tantus in arma patet*, 'so vast a front he presents to the foe:' i. e. he is so huge and stalwart that he does not fear to be wounded.

645. *transfixa*, usually of the thing pierced, here of that which pierces; a characteristic Virgilian variety of meaning: 'piercing through him bends him double with pain.'

648. *Amazon*, 'like an Amazon.'

649. *unum—pugnae*, 'one breast bared for fight:' for the construction see note on x. 133.

651. *rapit*, 'whirls.'

653. *in tergum*, 'towards the rear.'

654. *fugientia*, 'shot in flight;' see note to x. 418.

660. *pulsant*, the river being frozen over.

661. *Martia*, daughter of Mars.

662. *refert*, returns from battle.

665, 666. cp. Il. xvi. 692 *Ἐνθα τίνα πρῶτον, τίνα δ' ὕστατον ἱξενάρπας, Πατρόκλεις*. *Clytlo patre*, abl. absol., = 'son of Clytius.' *apertum*, 'unguarded.'

669. *se in vulnere versat*, 'writhes upon his wound.'

670. *super*, 'over' him, rather than 'besides.'

671. *suffosso*, 'stabbed underneath.' The MSS. favour 'suffuso:' but it is questionable whether it could = *prolapso* (Gossrau), and the technical meaning 'with swollen feet' is absurd in the present context.

678. *ignotis*, 'strange,' 'unaccustomed:' he was a hunter rather than a soldier.

680, 681. *pugnatori* with *iuvenco*, 'torn from a wild (fighting) bull.' Others connect it with *cui*, = *cui pugnanti*, 'was his dress in war:' but the strong phrase *erepta*, and Ornytus' reputation as a hunter, are in favour of the first interpretation. *caput ingens*, etc., 'his head is covered by a wolf's huge gaping mouth, and jaws with their grinning teeth;' i. e. a wolf's head is converted into a helmet, with the mouth serving as visor.

682. *sparus*, according to Servius a *rusticum telum*, as in the passage cited by him from Sall. Cat. xv. 3, where *spari*, *lanceae*, and *praeacutae sudes* are contrasted with *militaria arma*. A 'pike' perhaps suggests corresponding ideas, as a rude weapon. The word is obviously akin to Engl. 'spear,' 'spar,' Germ. 'Speer,' 'Sparren,' and Ital. 'sbarra' (a bar, or rail).

684. *exceptum*, 'caught;' *neque enim*, etc. then accounts for it—'for 'tis easy when a line is turned to flight' (and all is confusion).

687, 688. *vestra*, i. e. of Ornytus and his tribe, whom she supposes to have threatened to drive the Volscians before them like game. *nomina*, 'glory.'

692. *sedentis*, sc. *equo*, 'as he rode.'

695. *gyro interior*, Virgilian for *gyro interiore*, 'baffles him by wheeling inwards.' As he pursues her in a circle, she wheels sharply round, gets behind him, and then strikes him down.

698. *securim congeminat*, a bold variation for the ordinary *congeminat ictum*, 'strikes again and again with massive axe.'

701. The Ligurians were proverbial for lying and deceit, which is as it were their life; whence *fallere* by a kind of *παρὰ προσδοκίαν* for *vivere*. Cp. Cic. Cluent. 26. *72 hoc sibi Staienus cognomen (Pactus) ex imaginibus Aeliorum delegerat, ne, si se Ligurem fecisset, nationis magis quam generis uti cognomine videretur* : i. e. *Ligur* and *Pactus* being two *cognomina* of the Aelia gens, the former would have seemed only too appropriate for such a scoundrel as Cicero is representing Staienus to be.

702. *pugnae*, dat. after *evadere*, a poetical construction.

705. *quid tam egregium*? 'A fine thing indeed!' cp. Hor. Sat. ii. 3. 283 *Unum (Quid tam magnum? addens) unum me surpitem morti*—i. e. 'surely it's a small thing I ask.'

706. *fugam*, a concise expression for 'means of escape.'

708. 'Soon shall you know to whom vainglorious pride brings harm.' Another reading *laudem* is well supported. But *fraudem* is attested by Servius as the old reading, and makes better sense.

711. *pura*, 'blank' or 'unblazoned' = *parma alba* ix. 548. Camilla, not having been in battle before, has no device on her shield.

715. *vane*, here 'foolish,' referring to his vain confidence in his stratagem: not 'false' 'deceptive.'

716. *patrias artes*, 'your native guile;' see above l. 701.

718. *igneae*, 'with fiery speed,' as l. 746 below; cp. Catull. lxiv. 341 *Flammea praeventet celeris vestigia cervae*; Pind. Isthm. 8. 37 (of Achilles) *χείρας Ἀπέ τ' ἐναλίγκιον στεροπαῖσί τ' ἀκμὴν ποδῶν*.

719. She outstrips (*transit*) the horse, then faces it (*adversa*) and grasps the reins.

721. The hawk is *sacer ales* as an augural bird; 'whom augurs love.'

728. *incitat*, (so most MSS.) is in sense preferable to *iniicit* (Con., Forb., Goss.). Ribbeck approves Heinsius' conjecture *incutit*; an improvement, no doubt, upon *iniicit*, but unnecessary. The only reason for rejecting *incitat* is the close proximity of *suscitat*: but as in each word both accent and metrical ictus emphasise the *first* syllable, no disagreeable repetition of sound is produced on reading the line; and the case does not seem to call for either conjectural emendation or neglect of superior MS. authority.

731. *nomine quemque vocans*; this description of Tarcho recalls Thucydides' account of Nicias before the final sea-fight at Syracuse (vii. 69. 2) *αἰθὺς τῶν τριηράρχων ἕνα ἕκαστον ἀνεκάλει, πατρίθεν τε ἱερονόμαζον καὶ αὐτοὺς ὀνομαστὴ καὶ φυλὴν*—or Homer's picture (Il. iv. 231 sqq.) of

Agamemnon encouraging his followers: the language being perhaps suggested by Agamemnon's instruction to Menelaus in Il. x. 67:

φθέγγεο δ' ἢ κεν ἴσθαι, καὶ ἐγρήγορθαι ἀναχθῇ,
πατρόθεν ἐκ γενεῆς ὀνομάζων ἄνδρα ἕκαστον,
πάντας κυδάλων.

732. *o numquam dolituri*, 'hearts that will never feel.'

735. *quo*, 'to what end,' as il. 150.

736-740. 'Quick you are for nightly feats of love, or when the crooked pipe proclaims some Bacchic dance, to stand waiting for the feast and cups upon the well-laden board—your joy and pleasure this!—till seers with favouring voice proclaim the rites, and fat burnt-offerings call you to the forest depths.' *expectare* depends upon *segnes*. All the best MSS. give *expectate*, which would have to be taken as an ironical imperative—'go and wait for the feast, instead of fighting.' But the run of the lines is altogether against this version; and *expectate* is no doubt a scribe's error for *expectare*. *curva tibia*, apparently a pipe fitted with a horn bending upwards; cp. Ovid Met. iii. 533 *adunco tibia cornu*. *dum nuntiet*, final subjunctive, implying waiting for a particular purpose.

741. *moriturus*, 'ready to die,' expresses his purpose, rather than the future event. *et ipse*, as well as his men.

746-750. *igneus*, see above l. 718. *partes rimatur apertas*, 'searches for an ungarded spot,' the throat apparently being selected. *vim viribus exit*, 'with strength avoids the blow.' *exit*, poetical use of intrans. verb with acc., instead of prep. and case; cp. v. 438 *tela exit*, G. iii. 499 *fontes avertitur*. *vim* and *viribus* = 'violence' and 'strength' respectively.

751 sqq. From Homer, Il. xii. 200-207, *volans alte* being a translation of *ἐπιπλέτης*.

758. *exemplum eventumque*, 'prowess and success.'

761. 'Then Arruns, doomed to fate, all cunningly with poised spear keeps compassing swift Camilla's path, unmarked by her (*prior*, lit. 'anticipating her'), and tries his readiest chance' (of wounding her). *fortunam* = *καὶρόν*, cp. xii. 920 *sortitus fortunam oculis*.

766, 767. Partly repeated from v. 441. *improbus* = 'restless,' 'untiring'—'for ever brandishing his deadly spear.'

768. *olim*, at Troy.

770, 771. *quem pellis*, etc., 'who wore a cloth on which were brazen scales like feathers, and golden clasps.' *aënis squamis*, descriptive ablative. For *in plumam* cp. vi. 42 *excisum latus rupis in antrum*.

774. *erat*, the MSS. vary between *erat* and *sonat*, but the latter is probably due to a recollection of l. 652 above. *arcus*, why he should shoot with a Lycian horn-bow, and have a golden bow hanging from his back, is a difficulty. Con. suggests that *arcus* here = 'quiver,' an unparalleled use. Probably the passage would have been altered on revision.

775. *ohlamydem sinuasque*, hendiadys: 'his saffron cloak with its rustling folds of linen.'

777. 'With brodered vest and trows of foreign garb.' **pictus tunicas**, for the constr. see on x. 133. **barbara**, trousers were Oriental and despised by Romans: cp. Tacitus' account (Hist. ii. 20) of Caecina giving offence in the Italian towns *quod versicolori sagulo, bracas barbarum tegmen indutus, togatos alloqueretur*.'

778-782. **se ferret** suggests 'display'; 'to flaunt herself in golden spoil.' The mixture of feminine with warlike motives is very happily touched in this description of Camilla. **venatrix**, 'with a hunter's keenness.' **caeca**, 'blindly,' i. e. careless of the danger; so **incanta** in the next clause.

784. **concitat** 'brandishes': the weapon is not thrown till l. 799.

785 sqq. **Apollo** had a temple on Mt. **Soracte**, at which certain Faliscan families called Hirpii (Pliny vii. 2) or Hirpini (Varro apud Serv.) offered annual sacrifices, walking barefoot through burning embers.

786-788. 'Whom we above all men (**primi**) worship, in whose honour the heap of blazing pinewood burns, while we thy votaries, by faith upborne, walk on thick-strewn embers through the very fire.' **pineus ardor acervo**, a Virgilian inversion for *pineo ardor acervo*. **multa** 'denotes the thoroughness of the ordeal' (Con.).

790. **pulsae**, 'defeated.'

792, 793. **dum**, concessive, 'provided that.' **inglorius**, because no honour (though no discredit) was to be won by killing a woman.

796-798. **ut . . . sterneret, ut videret** are appositional to, or explanatory of, the idea of 'gift' implied in **annuit, dedit**; see above on l. 152. **patria alta**, 'his stately home.'

801-804. **aurae**, the 'wind' or 'rush' of the spear. **exsertam**, cp. l. 469 above. **alte acta**, 'driven deep.'

809. **ille**, as x. 707, where see note. **sequantur**, subj. as denoting the purpose with which he flies.

812. **remulcens**, a rare word, lit. 'stroking back,' here denotes the act of drawing back the tail and stroking the belly with it; 'drooping his tail.'

815. **contentus fuga**, 'contented to escape,' without wishing to consummate his victory. So Con. and Forb. Others, less probably, transl. 'with eager flight,' lit. 'strained in flight.'

816. **trahit**, 'pulls at' (Con.), without succeeding in drawing it out.

818. **labuntur**, of the drooping of her eyes.

819. **purpureus**, 'bright,' with **quondam**.

820. **unam** is almost an indefinite pronoun, 'one of her companions'; common in Livy (not in Cicero) with partitive genitive, and from the time of Plautus and Terence in more colloquial Latin—e.g. Ter. And. i. 1. 91 *forte unam adspicio adulescentulam*, where it is virtually an indefinite article, like its derivatives *un, uno*, etc. in modern Romance languages.

821, 822. **quoniam**, the older form of ablative, seen in *qui-ppē, quin (qui ne)*, etc. Here it answers to fem. ablative. **partiri**, historic infinitive denoting custom.

823. *haecenus . . . potui*, 'thus far have my powers lasted,' i.e. my fighting is now over.

826. *succedat*, *petitio obliqua* after *mandata*.

828-830. *non sponte fluens*, 'sinking perforce.' *toto . . . corpore*, 'gradually frees herself from all her body,' a poetical phrase to express the escape of the soul from the body: cp. iv. 703 *teque isto corpore solvo*; Lucret. iii. 696 *exsolvere sese Omnibus e nervis atque ossibus articulisque*.

833. *crudescit*, 'grows hotter.'

836. *Triviae custos*, 'Diana's sentinel' (Con.), i.e. Opis. *iam dudum*, 'all the while,' 'now for some time'—i.e. while all this was going on.

839. *mulcatam* (the MS. reading), = 'beaten,' 'overborne,' *multatam* (Forb., Gossr., etc.) = 'punished.' *Mulco* and *multo* (or *multo*) are originally parallel forms to which usage has attached different meanings: so e.g. *quis, qui*; *ὅς, ὅ* in Greek. From English Mr. Storr cites 'travail' and 'travel,' 'queen' and 'quean,' 'spirit' and 'sprite:' and others will readily occur.

843. *desertae*, 'in solitude;' properly only of places, but *desertae in dumis* is by transference for *desertis in dumis*.

845. *reliquit*, 'she hath not left you dishonoured'—having already (l. 591 above) provided for avenging Camilla. The v. l. *relinquet* would be easier: but *reliquit* has the best authority.

854. *fulgentem armis*, many editors read *laetantem animis*, on the authority of one MS., as being more appropriate. But as *fulgentem armis* makes perfectly good sense, it seems unnecessary to disregard the MSS.

856, 857. *periture*, voc. for nom., as *expectate venis* ii. 283. *Camillae praemia*, 'return for Camilla's death.' *tunc etiam*, etc., 'shall such as you (lit. 'even you') fall by Diana's shafts?' Opis grudges him the honour of such a death.

860-862. 'And drew it at full stretch, till the curved tips met together, and with even hands she touched the arrow's point with her left, and her breast with the bowstring and her right.' *coirent*, the subj. expresses her purpose in drawing the bow. *manibus aequis*, i.e. one hand was drawn back as much as the other was stretched out. Cp. Homer's description of drawing a bow so that the arrow-head comes up to the bow (and to the hand which holds it):—*Ἐλκε δ' ὁμοῦ γλυφίδας τε λαβὼν καὶ νεῦρα βόεια· Νευρὴν μὲν μαζῶν πέλασεν, τόξω δὲ σίδηρον* (Il. iv. 123).

864. *una . . . que*, 'at the same time that.'

866. *ignoto camporum in pulvere*, by transference for *ignoto in loco campi pulverulenti* (Forb.).

870. 'And captains borne astray, and troops left all forlorn'—i.e. deprived of their *disiecti duces*.

871. *equis aversi*, for *equis aversis*.

877. *percussae pectora*, 'beating their breasts:' for the constr. see v. x. 133.

880. *inimica turba*, i. e. the Trojans. *super*, 'falling upon them.'

882. *tuta domorum*, 'the shelter of home;' in these constructions the partitive notion often disappears, the neuter adj. merely expressing a quality: so i. 422 *strata viarum* = *stratae viae*.

886. 'Of those that keep the gate with their swords and those that rush upon them'—i. e. those who have got in repelling their friends who try to force a way in after them.

888. *urgente ruina*, 'as the rout presses on.'

889, 890. 'Some with blind haste and loosened rein dash headlong on the gates and stubborn doors.' *duros obliquo postes*, an inversion for *dura oblique postes*.

891. *summo certamine*, 'with utmost zeal,' as in v. 197 *olli certamine summo Procumbunt*.

892. *monstrat*, 'prompts.' *ut videre Camillam*, 'following Camilla's example,' lit. 'as they saw Camilla (hurling weapons).'

893. *robore duro*, abl. of quality with *stipitibus*.

895. *praecipites*, 'in headlong haste.' *primaeque*, etc. 'and long to be the first to die for their city's walls.' It would be possible to translate *primae*, 'in the first rank,' and *pro moenibus*, 'on the front of the walls.'

896, 897. *implet*, 'engrosses' (Storr). *nuntius*, 'news.' *fert tumultum*, 'tells of mighty uproar.'

904. *apertos*, 'unguarded.'

907. *nec longis passibus*, 'no long space.' The plural is used collectively, with an adjective denoting an attribute applicable only to the collective sense; cp. *longos annos* x. 549; Tib. i. 1. 2 *Et teneat culti iugera magna soli*. *inter se* with *absunt*.

911. *adventum pedum*, 'the onward tramp of feet' (Con.).

912-914. *ineant—tingat*, 'would fight . . . were not Phoebus to bathe;' vivid use of the present subj. for the ordinary *inirent . . . tingeret*. Cp. v. 325 *spatia et si plura supersint, Transeat elapsus prior*.

915. *moenia vallant*, 'entrench their lines,' i. e. raise temporary works outside the city.

NOTES TO BOOK XII.

Turnus, now the only hope of the Rutulian cause, agrees to meet Aeneas in single fight; Latinus, on the other hand, being willing to make a treaty and give Lavinia to Aeneas. The arrangements for the treaty are concluded, Aeneas and Latinus ratify it with an oath, and the combat is about to begin (ll. 1-215): when the nymph Juturna, Turnus' sister, instigated by Juno (ll. 134-160), incites the wild Rutulians to break the truce. A *mêlée* ensues, in which Aeneas is wounded and retires: while Turnus, making no attempt, as Aeneas has done, to keep the peace, deals great havoc among the Trojans (ll. 216-332). Aeneas, miraculously healed by Venus, returns to the fight to seek Turnus; but Juturna, acting as her brother's charioteer, evades his pursuit (ll. 333-499). After great slaughter on both sides (ll. 500-553), Aeneas threatens Laurentum itself (ll. 554-592): Amata commits suicide (l. 595): and Turnus, his better self and soldierly instincts reasserting themselves, rushes to save the city by claiming the combat with Aeneas (ll. 614-696). He has forfeited sympathy by his former *violentia*: but the spirit in which he at last resolves to meet his fate (ll. 665-695) compensates for much that has gone before. The remainder of the book (ll. 697-952) is occupied with the duel: Jupiter reconciling Juno to the fate of Turnus, and forbidding Juturna from further interference (ll. 791-886).

The frequency of supernatural intervention is a noticeable feature in this book (e.g. ll. 222 sqq., 411, 468, 544, 784-787), due perhaps (as Con. remarks) to imitation of Iliad xix-xxii, where such interventions become more frequent as the story draws to its catastrophe. In the suicide of Amata (ll. 595 sqq.) we may trace the influence of Greek tragedy: while Juturna, like Camilla, is apparently Virgil's own conception.

1-4. *infractus*, 'broken,' as x. 731. *promissa*, see xi. 434-444. *se signari oculis*, 'that all eyes are on him.' *ultro*, 'at once,' without waiting to be entreated; lit. 'beyond' what might be expected.

5. *ille* anticipates and emphasises the substantive *leo*: see note on x. 707.

6, 7. *mouet arma*, the ordinary military expression for beginning war *comantes cervice toros*, a variety for *comas in torosa cervice*, 'tosses'

92. *columnae*, another reading is *columna*. The former is best supported: if the latter were right, it would be an instance of Virgil's exceptional use of the ablative, like *haeret pede pes* x. 361, where see note.

94. *tremementem*, proleptic, 'shook it till it quivered.'

96. *maximus Actor*, sc. *antea gessit*.

97. *da sternere*, poetical use of infin., like *coli dedit* iii. 77.

100. *vibratos*, etc., 'curled with hot iron and reeking with myrrh.' Cp. Cicero's taunt of the consul Gabinius (Sest. viii. 18) *unguentis affluens, calamistrata coma*; and the Puritan description of King Charles I in Macaulay's ballad of 'Naseby':

'And the Man of blood was there, with his long essencèd hair,

And Astley and Sir Marmaduke and Rupert of the Rhine.'

101, 102. 'Such madness sways him; his features all ablaze shoot sparks; fire flashes from his eager eyes.'

103. *prima in proelia*, 'to begin the fight.'

104-106. Repeated almost *verbatim* from G. iii. 232-234. *irasci in cornua*, 'throw his wrath into his horns,' a picturesque phrase imitated from Eur. Bacch. 742 *ἐς κέρας θυμούμενοι*. *sparsa*, etc., 'scatters the sand in prelude to the fight.'

107. *maternis armis*, the arms given him by his mother Venus, and made by Vulcan, as described in Bk. VIII.

108. *acuit Martem*, 'kindles his martial spirit,' lit. 'sharpens the edge of;' cp. *accunt iras* l. 590 below. Virgil is perhaps thinking of Homer's *ἐγχετομεν δ' ἔνν' Ἀργα* Il. ii. 440.

118. *focos*, 'braziers' to hold the fire for the altars.

120. The MSS. have *velati lino*: but most editors accept the testimony of Servius for *limo*, the 'apron' worn by sacrificing priests; so called, according to Servius, from its 'waving' purple border (*lima purpura*). No custom of wearing linen is recorded that would justify the MS. reading. *tempora vincti*, see on x. 133.

121. *pilata*, 'armed with *pila*' (javelins), the characteristic Roman weapon: a rare term, only one other passage (Mart. x. 482 *pilata cohors*) being quoted for its use. It might also mean 'in close column,' as Servius shows by quotations: but the first meaning appears to be more appropriate.

129. *spatia*, the 'ground' marked out for each body of men.

131. *studio*, 'in their eagerness.' *effusae*, sc. *domibus*.

134. The Alban mount, about fourteen miles south of Rome, was afterwards the scene of the *Feriae Latinae*.

139. Conington thinks that Virgil makes Juturna 'a presiding nymph of lakes and rivers generally:' but the words *stagnis quae fluminibusque praesidet* are only a poetical description of a water-nymph, like *decus fluviorum* below, l. 142. There was a lake of Juturna near the *Fons Numici* (vii. 150): and Ovid (Fast. i. 463) implies that there was some pool or water in Rome sacred to Juturna—*Te quoque lux eadem, Turni soror,*

aede recepit, Hic ubi Virginea Campus obitur aqua. The similarity of names may have led Virgil to represent her as sister of Turnus: and Ovid would naturally accept this on his authority.

142-145. *decus fluviorum*, 'pride of all streams.' *ut*, 'how.' *in-gratum*, 'thankless'—i.e. to those who have entered it. Juno implies that the favours of Jupiter are *ἀδαιρα δάρα*.

148. *cedere res*, 'that success should attend.'

152. *praesentius*, 'more effectual.'

155. *honestum*, 'comely,' as x. 133.

158. *conceptumque exerce foedus*, 'mar the treaty they have made:' on *conceptum*, see l. 13 above.

161-164. The plural nom. *reges* has no verb, being immediately subdivided into two singular nominatives, each with its own verb; cp. xi. 261. The idiom is as old as Homer, e.g. Od. xii. 73-101 *Οἱ δὲ δύο σκόπελοι, ὁ μὲν οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἰκάνει, κ.τ.λ. . . τὸν δ' ἕτερον σκόπελον, κ.τ.λ.* Transl.: 'And now the chiefs came forth, Latinus of majestic frame on four-horse chariot borne, his gleaming brows girt by twelve golden rays, emblem of his ancestor the Sun; Turnus with two snow-white steeds.' *solis avi* need not be inconsistent with vii. 47 sqq. (where Latinus is son of Faunus the son of Picus, and great-grandson of Saturn): for Circe, daughter of the Sun, was fabled to have been in love with Picus (see note to vii. 189), and Faunus may have been represented as their offspring. The Sun would then be Latinus' great-grandfather on the mother's side, Saturn on the father's.

165. *crispans*, 'brandishing,' here denotes the mere carrying in the hand; cp. i. 313, from which this line is repeated.

172-175. 'They turned their faces to the rising sun, and strewed salt barley cakes, scoring with the steel the victims' foreheads, and pouring libations on the altar.' For *conversi ad solem* cp. viii. 68, and Soph. O. C. 477 *Χορὸς χέισθαι σπάντα πρὸς πρῶτην ἑω*. For the constr. *conversi lumina* see on x. 133. *fruges*, etc.: it was customary at sacrifices to scatter salt meal on the victim's head, then cut a tuft of hair from the brow, and throw it into the fire. *pateris altaria libant*, a Virgilian variety for *pateras libant in altaria*.

179, 180. *iam melior*, 'more favourable now' (than heretofore). *torques*, 'greatest,' as iv. 269 *caelum et terras qui numine torquet*.

181, 182. 'Ye springs, too, and floods I call, ye powers of heaven above, whate'er ye be, and every god that haunts the dark-blue sea.' *fontesque*, for the metre see Intro. p. xvii. *religio*, abstract for concrete, here denotes an object of reverence. Cp. Agamemnon's appeal (II. iii. 276 sqq.) to Zeus, the Sun, Rivers, Earth, and the powers below.

183. 'If haply victory shall pass to Turnus.'

187. *nostrum* is predicate: 'if Victory wills the day to be ours.' *Martem*, 'fortune of war,' as in the phrase *aequo Marte pugnatum est*.

192-194. 'My gods, my worship will I bring; let sire Latinus still hold

sway, still bear his ancient rule: the sons of Troy shall build me a town, and fair Lavinia grace it with her name.'

198-200. *genus duplex*, Phoebus and Diana. *Ianus* presided over treaties. *sacra*, 'the shrine of grim Dis,' i.e. his abode or realms: cp. Stat. Theb. iii. 246, where Jupiter calls heaven *Arce* *hanc aeternam, mentis sacra nostra*. *sancit*, 'enforces by his bolt;' i.e. by striking down perjurers.

201. *medios ignes et numina*, 'the fires and gods between us:' Aeneas and Latinus stand on different sides of the altar, at which the gods were supposed to be present.

203-205. 'No force shall make me change my purpose, though it plunge earth in sea, in a whirl of deluge, and blend heaven with hell.' *volentem*, lit. 'of my own will,' ἐκόντα. *miscens*, lit. 'mixing them (tellurem, undas) with deluge.'

206. *ut*, 'as surely as.' The following passage is imitated from Agamemnon's well-known oath in Il. i. 234 foll. *ναὶ μὰ τὸδε σκήπτρον, τὸ μὲν οὔποτε φύλλα καὶ ὄζους φύσει*, etc.

209. *posuit*, 'has lost.' *ferro*, instrumental abl.

211. *gestare*, poetical infin. after *dedit*.

214. *in flammam*, 'over the flames,' as xi. 199.

216-218. *iamdudum*, 'all the while,'—i.e. while these preparations were being made. *tum magis*, sc. *miscentur*; 'the more so, when on nearer view they see them ill-matched in strength.' *non viribus aequis* seems rightly explained by Wagner as ablat. of quality = *viribus imparibus*: though the omission of the object after *cernunt* makes the expression harsh and obscure.

219. *adiuvat*, 'aids the feeling,' adds to their excitement.

221. *tabentes*, 'wasted,' is adopted by most editors, *pubentes*, the reading of the majority of MSS., having no meaning here.

224. *formam assimilata*, see on x. 133. A *Camers*, king of Amyclae, is mentioned in x. 562.

227. *haud nescia rerum*, 'knowing well her task.'

229. *talibus*, 'such as we are,' i.e. their equals in strength.

230. *numerone*, etc., 'is it in numbers or in strength that we are unequal to them?'

231, 232. *omnes* is predicate. 'See! these Trojans and Arcadians are all their force—these, and yon men of fate, Etruria foe to Turnus.' *fatales*, an ironical allusion to the oracle which bade the Etruscans choose a foreign chief (vii. 502); which oracle, Juturna implies, will be a false guide. The Etruscans hated Turnus for sheltering their tyrant Mezentius (viii. 493).

233. 'Scarce have we a foe (for each), did we meet them with half our force.' *alterni*, lit. 'every other man of us.' *habemus* denotes a fact, the proportion between the two armies; *congregiamur*, the contingency of a battle.

235. *vivusque per ora feretur*, 'shall live in the mouths of men,' an expression imitated from Ennius' epitaph on himself, *volito vivus per ora virum*.

242, 243. *precantur infectum*, 'pray the truce had ne'er been made:' cp. for construction x. 503 *magno cum optaverit emptum Intactum Pallanta*. *infectum* is a negative, not a privative word: its meaning therefore is 'not done,' rather than 'undone' in the sense of cancelled.

245-250. 'To this Juturna added yet a sharper spur, and sent in heaven a sign, most potent of all that wrought with cheating omen on Italian hearts. Jove's golden bird aloft (*volans*) in the ruddy sky was chasing river-fowl and all the feathered crew in noisy crowd: when suddenly he swooped upon the stream, and gripped a lordly swan with his rapacious claws.' *litoreas aves* are swans: cp. the original in Homer, II. xv. 690 'Ἄλλ' ὥστ' ὀρνίθων πετεηνῶν αἰετὸς αἰθῶν ἔθορμάται ποταμὸν πάρα βοσκομέναν, and Aen. i. 393 sqq. The *cycnus excellens* betokens Turnus.

252. *convertunt clamore fugam*, 'wheel screaming round;' lit. 'turn back their flight.'

255. *defecit*, 'gave way,' 'failed.'

256. *suavis*, poetical dat. of recipient instead of prep. and case.

258. *expediunt manus*, 'make ready their hands' (for fight); cp. *arma expedient* iv. 592, and Sall. Jug. 105. 4 *igitur se quisque expedire, arma atque tela temptare, intendere*.

259-261. *huc erat*, like Gk. *ἦν ἄρα*, referring back to the time of prayer; 'this was the omen I prayed for.' *accipio*, sc. *omen*. *improbis*, 'rapacious,' as above l. 250: Aeneas being the eagle.

263. *penitus profundo*, 'far away over the deep' (abl.).

267-269. *sonitum*, etc., 'the whirring cornel hurtled through the air, nor missed its mark. No sooner done, than rose a mighty cry: confused was all the crowd, and hearts grew hot with wild alarm.' *cunei*, properly of the blocks of seats in a theatre, so called from their wedge-like shape; here of the rows of spectators.

270-272. *ut forte, ὡς ἐτυχεν*, 'as haply stood.' *una tot, μία πολλούς*, cp. Aesch. Ag. 1455 *ἴω, ἰὼ παράνουσ' Ἑλένα Μία τὰς πολλὰς, τὰς πάνυ πολλὰς Ψυχὰς ὀλέσας' ὑπὸ Τροίᾳ*.

273-276. 'One of these, a handsome youth in glittering arms, the spear struck full in the waist, where the belt rubs against the belly and the buckle grips its meeting edges; right through his side it passed, and stretched him on the yellow sand.' *horum unum* takes up the construction of *hasia volans*, interrupted by another sentence. *sutillis* probably denotes a leather belt with metal plates stitched to it. *laterum iuncturas*, according to Con., are 'the ribs,' which the belt 'clasps:' but more probably they denote the edges of the belt itself. Virgil has in mind Iliad iv. 132, where Athene directs Pandarus' arrow aimed at Menelaus, *οὗ: ζωστήρος ὀχῆς Χρύσειοι σύνεχον καὶ διπλὸς ἦν τετο θώρηξ*. *unum . . . transadigit costas*, accusative of whole and part; see on x. 699.

279-280. *caeci*, 'blindly.' *hinc . . . inundant*, 'on the other side comes a deluge of Trojans,' etc.

283-285. *diripuer*, 'they have stripped the altars,' i.e. of the charred brands and fire for extempore weapons. *ferreus imber* is from Ennius: cp. Milton, 'Par. Lost,' iii. 324 'sharp sleet of arrowy showers,' and Gray, 'The Fatal Sisters,' stanza 1:

'Now the Storm begins to lower,
(Haste, the loom of Hell prepare,)
Iron sleet of arrowy shower
Hurttles in the darkened air.'

craterasque, 'bowls and braziers are carried away,' i.e. by persons retiring from the battle.

286. *pulsatos*, 'outraged,' lit. 'beaten.' *infecto foedere*, abl. absol., 'the truce unmade.' *divos*, the images of the gods.

288. *subiciunt*, lit. 'throw upwards.'

289. *regem*, 'a "Lars," or petty prince of Etruria' (Kenn.).

291-293. 'Startles by riding at him (*equo*, abl. instr.): back springs Aulestes, and stumbles, poor man, on the altars behind, falling upon his head and shoulders.'

294. *trabali*, 'vast as a beam' and so 'ponderous:' cp. I Sam. xvii. 7 'the staff of his spear was like a weaver's beam.'

295. *altus equo*, 'high on horseback.'

296. 'He has it now: a better victim this for the mighty gods.' *habet!* or *hoc habet!* was the exclamation over a gladiator wounded to death; cp. Ter. And. i. i. 56 *certe captus est; habet!*

300. *occupat os flammis*, 'dashes the flame into his face:' *occupare*, lit. 'to seize beforehand,' denotes the rapidity of the action.

301. *super* 'pressing upon him.'

305. *pastorem primaque*, etc., the two facts are not really coordinate, but are stated as if they were for the sake of variety—a not uncommon Virgilian usage, see note to x. 734.

309, 310. These lines are repeated from x. 745, 746, where see note.

311. *inermem*, 'unarmed,' to show his peaceful intention.

316. *faxo*, old future perfect formation, like *recepso*, etc., with the meaning of the simple future.

317. *haec sacra*, the solemnities of the truce, by which Turnus was bound to fight Aeneas: 'these rites have now made Turnus mine.'

319-322. 'Lo! on the chief (*viro*, dative) a whizzing shaft came flying—sped by what hand, who drove it whirling home, no man could tell; what chance it was or hand divine, that gave such glory to Rutulians.' *turbine*, of the 'rush' of a missile, cp. xi. 284 *quo turbine torquet hastam*.

322. *pressa est*, 'is concealed.' *insignis* with *facti*.

327. *molitur*, 'takes the reins in hand.' The word is found with accus. of the instrument handled (*fulmina* G. i. 329, *bipennem* G. iv. 321,

ignem Aen. x. 131), the material work produced (*arcem* i. 424, *muros* iii. 133, *classem* ib. 6), or the effect produced (*iter* vi. 427, *viam* x. 477, *letum* xii. 852); the prevailing notion being that of *labour* or *difficulty*.

330. *raptas ingerit*, 'snatches up and pours spear after spear upon the flying foe:' repeated from ix. 764. The spears must be lying at his feet in the chariot.

331-336. 'As when at furious speed along cold Hebrus' stream the bloody War God clashes his shield and, kindling strife, lets loose his maddened steeds: they on the open plain outstrip the winds, while Thrace to its utmost bound groans beneath their trampling feet; around move gloomy-browed Affright, and Wrath, and Guile, the god's attendant train.' *inorepat*, several MSS. give *intonat*, but *inorepat* is strongly supported by Sil. Ital. xii. 684 (of Hannibal) *clipeoque tremendum Inorepat, atque armis imitatur mumura caeli*. The attendants of Mars are suggested by Iliad iv. 44 Δεῖμός τ' ἡδὲ Φόβος καὶ Ἐρις ἄμοτον μεμνῖα, 'Ἀρεος ἀνδροφόνου κασιγνήτη ἐτάρῃ τε.

338. *miserabile*, better with *insultans* than with *caesis*.

344, 345. *paribus armis*, the two brothers being equipped alike. *conferre* and *praeverttere*, poetical infin. of purpose after the previous clause. Con., less probably, makes them depend on *paribus*, 'arms equally fitted for fighting on foot or horseback.'

351, 352. 'Tydides paid him another price for his daring deed; and now he looks no longer for Achilles' steeds.' *alio pretio*, i. e. death.

354. *inane*, as subst., Lucretian word, = 'space.'

357. *dextrae*, etc., 'wrenched the sword from his hand and dyed its bright blade deep in his throat.'

363. *Chloreaquē*, see Introd. p. xviii.

364, 365. *sternacis* 'restive,' 'apt to throw;' cp. *cap-ax*, 'vor-ax,' etc. *Edoni*, 'Thracian' (a tribe on the Strymon).

370. *adverso curru*, 'as the chariot drives against the wind.'

371, 372. *animis frementem*, 'shouting in his pride.' *spumantia frenis*, 'foaming at the bit.'

374-376. *iugis* for *iugo*, as G. iii. 57. *resectum*, 'exposed.' *degustat*, 'grazes,' lit. 'tastes;' cp. Iliad iv. 139 Ἀκρότατον δ' ἄρ' ὀϊστός ἐπέγραψε χροά φαρύς.

379. *rota et axis* hendiadys, 'the wheel with onward speeding axle.'

382. *harenae*, 'on the sand,' lit. 'to the sand,' dative of recipient used poetically instead of local abl., like *totō proiectus corpore terrae* xi. 87. See also note on xii. 256. Some MSS. give *harena*; but *harenae* is confirmed by Servius.

386. 'Supporting each other step with a long spear.' *alternos*, i. e. of the wounded leg. *gressus*, cognate accus.; cp. Sil. Ital. vi. 79 *lapsantes fullum truncata cuspidē gressus*.

387. *infracta*, the shaft is broken and the head of the arrow fixed in the wound.

388. 'And bids them use the speediest remedy,' lit. 'way for help' (dative).

389. *secent*, subj. in *petitio obliqua* after *poncit*.

391, 392. *Iapyx Iasides*, the names suggest the healing art (*ἰάσμαι*).

394. *dabat*, 'offered,' as Gk. *ἐδίδου*.

395-397. 'But he, to postpone the fate of a dying parent, preferred to learn the virtues of herbs and the healing craft, and to practise in obscurity a silent art.' *depositi*, according to Servius, because dying men were laid upon the ground before the door, in hope of some passer-by being able to do something for them: cp. Ov. ex Pont. ii. 2. 45 *Iam prope depositus, certe iam frigidus, aeger Servatus per te, si modo server, ero*; Cic. Verr. ii. 1. 2 *itaque mihi videor magnam et maxime aegram et prope depositam reipublicae partem suscepisse*. *mutas*, as opposed to *augurium oitharamque*; so Cicero (De Or. iii. 7. 26) calls sculpture and painting *mutae artes* in contrast to oratory.

400-404. *ille* anticipates *senior*; see on x. 198. 'He, the aged leech, with dress girt up and twisted back in doctor-fashion.' *Paenium* (*Παένιον*) is trisyllable. *trepidat* and *solicitat* well express the busy activity of old Iapis.

405-410. 'No happy chance directs his hand; no aid his patron god bestows: louder and louder on the plain swells up the savage din, and nearer comes the ill. E'en now they see the air all thick with dust; horse-men ride up, and spears rain thick amid the camp; and dismal rings the shout of men that fight and fall in stubborn fray.' *pulvere stare*, lit. 'stand fixed with dust,' i.e. is a mass of dust: cp. vi. 300, *stant lumina flamma*, 'are one mass of flame.'

412, 413. *dictamnium*, 'dittany,' mentioned by Arist. H. A. ix. 6. 1 as a herb sought by wounded goats in Crete. *puberibus*, etc., 'a plant with growth of downy leaves and bright and purple flower.'

416. *faciem circumdata*, see on x. 133.

417. *huc*, etc., 'with this she tinges water poured out in a bright caldron.'

419. *ambrosia* (the 'immortal' plant), and *panacea* (the 'all-healing'), two legendary herbs variously identified in after-times.

422. *quippe*, 'in very truth.' *dolōr*, see Introd. p. xviii.

424. *novae rediere in pristina*, 'returned afresh as before' (lit. to its former state).

425. *properate*, 'bring quickly.'

427-429. *arte magistra*, 'my master-skill,' as viii. 442. *maior*, i.e. *quam ego*; 'Some higher power, some god, is working here.'

430. *inluserat*, 'at once encased;' cp. viii. 219.

432-434. *habilis*, 'fitted to.' *armis*, from *arma*; 'he clasps Ascanius in his mailed embrace;' cp. Tac. Hist. i. 36. 2 *ut quemque affluentium militum aspexerant, prensare manibus, complecti armis*. *oscula*, 'lips,' as i. 356.

435-437. *verum*, 'real,' 'honest' toil, as opposed to that which 'beats

the air.' *defensum dabit*, 'shall defend you well,' = *defendet*: cp. i. 63 *laxas dare* = *laxare*, ix. 323 *vasta dare* = *vastare*. Similar expressions are common in Plautus or Terence, *dare* having the sense of 'make' or 'cause.' *inter præmia*, 'amid rewards,' i.e. where they are to be found: 'where high guerdons may be won' (Storr).

439. *sis*, indirect jussive subj.

443, 444. *Antheusquæ*, see Introd. p. xvii. *caeco pulvere*, 'blinding dust;' cp. iii. 203 *caeca caligine*.

445. *excita*, 'wakened,' 'aroused.'

450-455. 'He flies, hurrying his dark lines upon the open plain. As when a storm bursts forth, and clouds sweep landward o'er the deep; the hapless rustics quake with fear, afar foreboding ill: 'twill root up trees, and lay the corn, and make the land a waste: before it fly the winds and waft its roaring to the shore.' *astrum*, of the distant appearance of the host: cp. Hom. II. iv. 281 *Δήιον ἐς πόλεμον πυκινὰ κίνυντο φάλαγγες Κυάνεα*. *nidere*, 'storm,' a sense derived from that of 'weather:' see on xi. 269.

456. *Rhoetelus*, i.e. 'Trojan,' Rhoeteum being a promontory near Troy.

457. *cuneis coactis*, 'forming wedge-like columns.'

458. *gravem*, 'huge.'

464. *morti*, poetical dative of the recipient, for *ad mortem*: cp. xii. 256 *proiecit fluvio*, x. 555 *deturbat terrae*.

465. *pede aequo* 'foot to foot.' *congressos* is aorist = 'those who meet him,' and there is virtually no tense distinction between it and *ferentes*; the two (as Mr. Storr points out) being = *nec comminus nec eminus pugnantes*.

468. *virago*, 'warlike maid:' used of Pallas by Ovid (*belli metuenda virago* Met. ii. 765), and Statius (*regina bellorum virago* Silv. iv. 5. 23); of Diana by Seneca (Hippol. 54); and of a strong serving-maid by Plautus (Merc. ii. 3. 78 *ego emero matri tuae Ancillam viraginem aliquam*).

469, 470. *media inter lora*, 'between the reins,' which are passed round his body. *temone*, for the whole chariot: *Metisous* would be flung out to the side or behind, not, as Con. seems to think, on the *pole* between the horses.

475-477. *nidis*, 'nestlings;' G. i. 414. *stagna*, 'tanks,' or 'fishponds' about large country houses: cp. Hor. Od. ii. 15. 2-4 *undique latius Extentia visentur Lucrino Stagna lacu*. This description of the swallow is apparently original.

481. 'Nor less did Aeneas track each winding turn to meet him.'

484. *temptavit*, 'tried to match.' Aeneas is on foot.

489. *levis cursu*, 'light-speeding.'

491. 'Aeneas stopped, and crouched behind his shield:' see on x. 412.

493. *tulit*, 'struck.'

494-495. *subactus*, 'goaded by their treachery.' *diversos*, 'awa' from him.'

501. *aequore toto* 'over all the plain;' abl. of extension, common with *totus*.

505-508. 'Rutulian Sucre met Aeneas—that fight first checked the Trojan onset—but stayed him not for long: for Aeneas caught him on the side, and drove the cruel sword through the ribs that fenced his breast, the quickest road of death.' *loco statuit*, = 'made to stop where they were;' cp. *stare loco* G. iii. 84. *transadigit* with double accus., like *transportare*. *et crates pectoris* explains *costas*.

513, 514. *ille*, Aeneas. *nomen* and *genus* are in loose apposition to *Oniten*: 'one of Echion's line, from Peridia's womb.'

516. *fratres*, apparently Clarus and Themon, mentioned x. 126. *Lycia* was 'Apollo's own domain' in virtue of his temple at Patara.

519, 520. *ars*, the fisherman's craft. *potentum*, 'the great,' *τῶν δυνάτων*. *munera*, 'the duties,' i. e. 'the life of the great,' is rather better supported than the other reading, *limina*, 'the thresholds of the great;' but both would make good sense.

522. *virgulta sonantia lauro*, 'thickets of rustling laurel,' lit. 'rustling with laurel,' a Virgilian variety of expression for *virgulta sonantia lauri*.

525. *iter*, cognate accus.; 'each marking out its path of ruin.'

527. 'Wrath boils and seethes within; breasts burst with rage, that cannot yield; and all their might goes forth into each blow.' The metaphor is from water boiling up in a closed vessel; the language being suggested by Lucr. iii. 297 (of angry lions) *Pectora qui fremitu rumpunt plerumque gementes, Nec capere irarum fluctus in pectore possunt*.

529-531. *sonantem*, 'vaunting,' lit. 'sounding forth' the names of; cp. Sil. It. ii. 491 *primaque sonant te voce minores*. It need not be supposed that Murranus is actually 'reciting his genealogy on the field of battle:' but only that his habit was to boast of his ancestry. Servius' explanation, that Murranus' name 'recalled' those of his ancestors, seems improbable. *scopulo* is explained by *atque*, etc.—'with a very rock, a huge stone flung with force.' For *turbine* = the 'whirling' of a weapon, cp. xi. 284, xii. 320.

532-534. 'As he lay 'neath reins and yoke the wheels rolled him along the ground; above him sped with rapid tramp, and trod him down, the hoofs of the horses, unmindful of their lord.' *nec memorum* may = *et etiam immemorum*; but Wagner is perhaps right in classing it with *nec opinatus* = *non opinatus*, and *nec ullus* = *nullus*; cp. Ciris 270 *Cui Parcae tribuere nec ullo vulnere laedi* (Q. V. xxxii. 12).

535-538. 'Turnus met Hyllus charging on in overwhelming pride, and launched a shaft at his temples gold-encased: right through his helmet passed the spear and in his brain stood fast.' *aurata*, because he wore a gilded helmet.

539. *Cupencus* was the Sabine title for a priest of Hercules; hence *di sui*.

541. *aerei*, dissyllable by synizesis.

546, 547. 'Here didst thou find the goal of death; 'neath Ida was thy lofty home: thy lofty home in far Lyrnesus, on Laurentian soil thy grave.' The idea is perhaps suggested by Achilles' words over the slain Iphition (Iliad xx. 390) Ἐνθάδε τοι θάνατος, γενεὴ δέ τοι ἐστ' ἐπὶ λίμνῃ Γυγαίῃ, ὅθι τοι τέμενος πατρίων ἐστίν: but Virgil imparts new pathos to its expression by the repetition of *domus alta. mortis metae* is like Homer's θανάτοιο τέλος, 'death, the end or goal;' for the explanatory genitive cp. *aram sepulcra* vi. 177, etc. The *metae* were three conical wooden cylinders, in shape like cypress-trees (Ov. Met. x. 106 *metas imitata cupressus*), at the end of the low wall (*spina*) which ran down the middle of a race-course.

548. *totae adeo*, 'yea, all; ' *adeo* serving as a strengthening particle: cp. iii. 203 *tres adeo incertos . . . soles*.

550. *domitōr et*, see Introd. p. xvii.

552, 553. 'Each as he may, the heroes strive with all their might. No stay, no rest: in conflict grim they onward press.'

554. *mentem*, 'thought,' as i. 676.

558, 559. *acies*, sc. *oculorum. immunem*, 'exempt from so furious a war.' *impune quietam*, 'in undisturbed repose.'

560-562. *imago*, 'vision' or 'thought.' *tumulum capit*, i.e. *concionabundus*, 'takes his stand upon a mound.'

565, 566. *haec stat*, 'is on our side.' Virgil borrows from Ennius, Ann. 283 *Non semper vestra evertet; nunc Iuppiter hac stat. mihi*, dat. ethicus; 'let me find none slower to advance because the plan is sudden.'

570-573. 'Am I forsooth to wait till Turnus deign to stand my onset, and choose to meet me once more, that beaten man? Here stands the head and front, the key of this nefarious war. Bring torches quick; demand our bond with flames.' Laurentum is not, strictly speaking, the cause of the war (l. 567): and the attack on it as such seems only a poetical device for giving Turnus a motive to face Aeneas again.

575. *dant cuneum*, 'form a wedge; ' *dare* = *facere*, as often: see on l. 437 above.

582. *bis*. For the first treaty, with Aeneas' envoy Ilioneus, see vii. 249 sqq.

585. *trahunt*, 'would fain drag.'

587-592. 'As when a shepherd has traced bees to their nest in the cranny of a rock and has filled it with pungent smoke: the bees within, in anxious plight, run hither and thither through their waxen camp, stirring their wrath with buzzing loud; black odours spread from cell to cell, dim murmurs fill the hollows of the rock, and smoke uprises through the open air.' From Apoll. Rhod. ii. 130 sqq. *ater odor*, 'black' or 'murky odour,' i.e. the odour of black smoke; both in this expression and in *murmure caeco* (lit. 'unseen murmurs'), there is 'an artificial confu-

between the impressions on different senses' (Con.). *trepidæ rerum*, like *fessi rerum* i. 178; a poetical use of the objective genitive. *vacuas auras*, the 'open' air, as distinct from the inside of the bees' dwelling.

600. 'Herself, she cries, the cause, the guilty cause, the source of all this woe.' *orimen* here, by a poetical extension, means 'guilty cause.'

603. *nodum informis leti*, 'the hideous death-noose;' cp. Eur. Hipp. 802 *βρόχον κρεμαστὸν ἀγχόνης*. The genitive is a descriptive epithet. The form of Amata's suicide is no doubt suggested by those of Jocasta, Phaedra, etc. in Greek tragedy.

605. For *flavos* [all MSS.] most recent editors accept *floros* on the testimony of Servius, who appeals to the authority of Probus for this '*antiqua lectio*,' and cites Attius and Pacuvius for the phrase *flori crines*; to which Con. adds Naevius so *Ut videam Volcani opera haec flammis fieri flora*. The word, however, had by Virgil's time so completely disappeared from use (except as a proper name, *Florus*), that it seems a strong measure to introduce it in defiance of MSS., on authority which (as we only have Probus at second-hand through Servius) is not substantially older than that of the MSS. themselves; particularly where (unlike a parallel case in vii. 773) such change is not necessary to amend the sense.

606. *laniata genas*, for the constr. see note to x. 133.

612, 613. Omitted by all the best MSS., and repeated almost *verbatim* from xi. 471, 472. Although it is quite in Virgil's manner to repeat lines with slight alterations, yet in this case the testimony of the MSS. is decisive.

614. *bellator* = *bellans*, 'was fighting far away on the plain.'

616. *successu equorum*, 'his steeds' victorious course.'

621. *diversa*, 'distant,' as xi. 261 *diversum litus*.

626. *prima*, adverbial, = *primum*.

629. *mittamus funera*, 'send destruction among;' as *exitum misere apibus* G. iv. 534.

630. *numero*, 'the number of slain.' *pugnae* with *honore*.

632. *cum prima* (neut. plur.) = *cum primum*.

634. *fallis dea* = *λανθάνεις θεά οὔσα*, 'you hide your godhead,' an imitation of Greek phraseology.

637. *quid ago?* 'What am I to do?' vivid use of indic. for deliberative subj., as iii. 88 *quem sequimur*.

638-640. *me voce vocantem*. This detail is omitted in the account of Murranus' death above (ll. 529-534): but *ingentem atque ingenti vulnere victum* agrees with that account, and this allusive style of narrative, though unlike the directness of the Homeric epic, is natural to Virgil.

648. This line as it stands (in all MSS.) may be scanned in two ways:

(1) Sancta ad vos animā atque istius inscia culpaē.

(2) Sancta ad vos animā atque istius inscia culpaē.

Each involves a metrical licence elsewhere unexampled—viz. the lengthening

of the final syllable of *animā* before a vowel (in hiatus), or of *istius* in the unemphatic syllable of a foot (in thesi). The first of these, however, is more *possible* than the second: for hiatus and the lengthening of short final syllables in arsi are both recognised metrical licences (Introd. pp. xvi, xvii), and the only difficulty lies in their combination. The lengthening of the final *a* of the nom. sing. is found in Ennius (A. 148) *et densis aquila pennis obnixa volabat*; and may have been imitated in this place by Virgil. Lachmann (on Lucr. ii. 27) suggests the repetition of *anima* after *atque*: Ribbeck adopts the correction *nescia* for *inscia*: and Munro suggests the insertion of the interjection *a!* between *anima* and *atque*. But the difficulty is not hopeless enough to justify departure from unanimous MS. authority.

651. *adversa*, i. e. as he met them: 'with an arrow wound in full view upon his face.'

653. *suprema salus*, 'our last chance of safety.'

655. *excidio*, if from *excido* it must be a trisyllable by synizesis; but more probably it is from *excindo*.

658. *muscat*, 'doubts,' 'hesitates'; lit. 'mutters.'

659. *tui fidissima*, 'most trustful of you,' *fidus* being, by a Virgilian extension, constructed with gen. instead of dat., on the analogy of *fiducia tui*. Others, less probably, transl. 'your staunchest friend,' regarding *fidus* as virtually a substantive, as in such phrases as *tui amans*, 'your lover.'

662-664. *sustentant aciem* (sc. *suorum*), 'maintain the fight:' so Tac. Ann. i. 65. 8 *Caecina dum sustentat aciem, suffosso equo delapsus circumveniebatur. circum hos*, etc., 'round them on either side press thronging hosts, and drawn swords, a bristling crop of steel.'

665-671. 'Amazement seized on Turnus, and his mind was troubled with the varied picture of misfortune, as he stood in fixed and silent gaze. In his heart swelled at once a mighty tide of shame, and frenzy mixed with grief, and love by madness spurred, and conscious prowess. Soon as the shadows broke, and light returned upon his soul, he flung his kindling eye-balls' troubled glance toward the walls, and from his car looked back upon the town.' For *amōr et*, see Introd. p. xvii.

672-675. 'Lo! a spire of eddying flame from floor to floor went streaming up to heaven as it seized a tower: a tower that his own hand had reared with beams compacted well, and wheels below, and gangways stretched above.' In ix. 530 foll. there is a description of a similar moveable tower on wheels: the gangways were to connect the tower with the walls of the city.

678. 'I am resolved to meet Aeneas, and to suffer all the bitterness of death,' lit. 'suffer in death all its bitterness.'

680. *ante*, 'first,' before death comes. *furorē*, cognate accusative.

681. *arvis*, poetical dat. for *in arva*; cp. *fluvio* l. 256 above.

684-687. The simile is borrowed from Il. xiii. 137 sqq., where the *red*

of Hector on the Greeks is compared to that of a stone, 'Ὁν κε κατὰ στεφάνης ποταμὸς χειμάρρους ὥση ῥήξας ἀσπέτῳ θυβρὶ ἀναιδέος ἔχματα πέτρης. Virgil, *more suo*, elaborates Homer's description, by giving three alternative causes of the stone's fall—'rent by the wind, washed down by furious rain, or sapped by stealing lapse of years.' *mons improbus* ('reckless stone'), renders Homer's ἀναιδὸς πέτρη.

690. *plurima*, adverbial, 'is most drenched.'

694, 695. 'Whate'er the fortune of the day, 'tis mine to bear; better that I alone, not you, should atone for broken truce, and try the hazard of battle.' *verius*, 'fairer;' cp. Hor. Ep. i. 7. 98 *metiri se quemque suo modulo ac pede verum est*. *foedus luere* is a condensed expression for *poenas rupti foederis luere*.

701-703. 'Huge as Athos, huge as Eryx, huge as father Appennine himself, what time he roars with all his quivering oaks, and lifts his snowy head rejoicing to the skies.' Athos is 6350 feet high, and the highest point of the Appennines 9500. Eryx is only 2184, but its position as an isolated peak (now Monte S. Giuliano), rising in the midst of a low undulating tract, makes its elevation appear greater than it really is, and causes it to be regarded, in modern as well as ancient times, as the loftiest mountain (after Etna) in the whole island. Homer (Il. xiii. 754) compares Hector to a snow-clad peak—*ἀρμύθη δρεὶ νιφόντι τοικῶς*: Milton, like Virgil, makes such a simile more graphic by localising it, e.g. 'Par. Lost,' iv. 987:

'Satan dilated stood,
Like Teneriff or Atlas, unremoved.'

709. *cernere* = *decernere*; an antique usage, found in Ennius and Sallust, and mentioned by Seneca (Ep. vi. 6. 3) as an archaism.

710-714. *ut*, 'when.' *invadunt Martem*, i.e. *incunt pugnam*: 'they close with ringing clash of brazen shields.' *fors et virtus miscentur in unum*, 'chance and valour each play their part;' lit. are mingled together. Virgil means that of the many blows given and received, some are due to the combatants' prowess, others to chance, in so furious a combat.

718. *mussant*, lit. 'mutter,' here (as l. 657 above) = 'wait in doubt,' hence followed by dubitative subj. *quis . . . imperitet*.

720-722. Cp. G. iii. 220 sqq., where the same ideas are worked out in a different form. *obnixi*, 'with all their might.'

725-727. 'Jupiter himself holds up two scales of even poise, laying therein the divers destinies of the twain, to see whom the struggle dooms, which weight is carried down by death.' *examine*, the 'tongue' of a balance; cp. Pers. v. 101 *certo compescere puncto Nescius examen* (to check, or steady the index at some fixed point). *quo vergat pondere letum*, lit. 'in which weight death sinks down.' Two weights are placed in the scales, representing the death of the two heroes. The one whose weight is heavier, and draws down the scale, must die. Virgil follows Homer, Il. xxii. 209-213 (where Zeus weighs δύο κῆρε τανηλεγέος θανάτου for

Achilles and Hector) in making the condemned scale heavier: Milton, in a parallel picture ('Par. Lost,' iv. 996 sqq.), where the powers of Satan and of Gabriel are weighed in the balance, has perpetuated a different idea, viz. that the unsuccessful fate is *lighter*—'The latter (Satan's) quick up flew, and kicked the beam.'

728, 729. 'Turnus hereon springs forth, little recking of mischance (lit. thinking that he could do it safely), and with full weight rises to his high uplifted sword, and strikes.'

732. *ni . . . subeat* is the protasis to a clause implied in *deserit*, 'fails him (and would cause his death) unless;' an effective and not uncommon figure of speech, cp. Ecl. ix. 45 *memini numeros, si verba tenerem*.

734. *ignotum*, 'unfamiliar,' i.e. not his own tried sword: as shown in the following lines. *patrio*, 'his father's sword,' i.e. the sword made by Vulcan for his father Daunus, as explained l. 20 above.

737. *dum trepidat*, 'in his haste.'

739, 740. *arma dei Vulcania* = *arma dei Vulcani*: a Greek form of expression: cp. *Tyrrhenus tubae clangor* viii. 526; *Tyrrhena regum progenies* Hor. Od. iii. 29. 1. Con. cites Soph. O. T. 243 τὸ Πυθικὸν θεοῦ Μαρτεῖον, Eur. Rhes. 651 Τῆς ὑμνοποιοῦ παῖδα Θρηῖκιον θεῶς. *futtilis*, here 'brittle;' see note to xi. 339.

742, 743. 'So Turnus madly traverses the ground (lit. makes for different parts of it) in flight, tracing wayward circles now here, now there.'

748. *trepidique*, etc., 'and hotly presses step by step upon his flying foe.'

750. *puniceae pennae*, refers to the cords with red feathers attached, which were hung in the openings of the woods, to drive the game back to the nets. The technical name for such contrivances was *formido*, 'a scare,' cp. G. iii. 372 *puniceaeve agitant pavidos formidine pennae*.

751. *venator canis* 'a hound;' so *bellator equus* G. ii. 145.

752. *insidiis* refers to the 'scare,' *ripa* to the river; *et* standing instead of a disjunctive particle.

753-755. *vias*, cognate accusative. *at vividus Umbra*, etc., 'close to him, open-mouthed, keeps the keen Umbrian (hound), and all but grasps the prey, and snaps his jaws like one that grasps, yet idly bites the air.'

761. *si quisquam*, 'if any one soever.' Besides its ordinary use in negative sentences, *quisquam* is used in relative or conditional sentences where the statement is to be made as general or comprehensive as possible: e.g. Cic. Cat. i. 2 *quamdiu quisquam erit, qui te defendere audeat, vires*; Phil. viii. 4 *laberis, quod quisquam stabile aut iucundum in regno putas*.

763. *retexunt*, 'retrace,' lit. 'weave over again.'

764. *Iudiora*, such as were contended for at *ludi*; 'no trivial prizes at games.' Virgil is imitating Homer, Iliad xxii. 159 sqq. ἐπεὶ οὐχ ἱερῆιον οὐδὲ βοείην Ἀρνύσθην, ἀ τε ποσσὶν ἀέθλια γίγνεται ἀνδρῶν, Ἀλλὰ περὶ ψυχῆς θεῶν Ἑκτορος ἱπποδάμοιο.

769-771. **Laurenti divo**, Faunus (vii. 47 sqq.); to whom sailors would offer, not as a sea-god, but as protector of their homes. For the practice here alluded to cp. Hor. Od. i. 5 *me tabula sacer Votiva paries indicat uvida Suspendisse potenti Vestimenta maris deo. nullo discrimine*, 'careless of its sanctity'; lit. 'making no difference.' **puro**, 'clear,' 'unobstructed.'

772, 773. 'Here stood Aeneas' spear; hither its force had borne and stuck it fast, and kept it in the tough root.' **stabāt**, see Introd. p. xvii. **fixam**, proleptic; cp. iii. 236 *tectosque per herbam Disponunt enses. impetus* is the subject of both verbs; the force which brought it being said to keep it there. The idea is borrowed from Iliad xxi. 171 sqq. where Achilles' spear, aimed at Asteropaeus, is fixed in a bank.

779. **fecere profanos**, 'have desecrated,' i.e. by cutting down the sacred tree (l. 770).

780. 'he said, nor prayed in vain for heavenly aid.'

782, 783. **discludere morsus roboris**, 'to unclose the grip of the solid wood.'

784 sqq. Cp. Iliad xxii. 276, where Athene restores to Achilles his spear aimed at Hector.

788-790. 'The chiefs elate, with arms and courage new supplied, one trusting in his sword, the other keen with towering spear, stand face to face, all breathless with the strife.'

794, 795. 'Full well you know, and own it yourself, that Aeneas must reach (lit. is due to) Heaven as a hero-god, and that Fate uplifts him to the skies.' **indigetem** = *δαίμονα*: so Servius, *indigetes sunt dii ex hominibus facti*; and Macrobius in Somn. Scip. i. 9 uses the word simply to translate Hesiod's *δαίμονες* (Op. et D. i. 121) in this sense of deified mortals. *Indiges* was thus a natural title of Aeneas (as of Romulus) after apotheosis; cp. Liv. i. 2. 8 (*Aenean*) *Iovem Indigetem appellant*. The *Di Indigetes* (deified heroes) are invoked among other protectors of Rome; e.g. Liv. viii. 9. 5; G. i. 498. The etymology of the word is uncertain. Corssen regards it as a participle from a verb *indigere*, 'to invoke,' connected with the root *ag*, 'to speak,' seen in *aio* = *ag-io*. Preller derives it from *indo* (old form of *in*) and *genus*, the meaning being 'native.'

797. 'Was it meet that a god should be profanely wounded by a mortal hand?' **mortalis** is equivalent to a 'subjective' genitive (dealt by a mortal); see note to xi. 82.

799. The plural **victis** generalises the idea—'and strength grows afresh in vanquished men.'

801, 802. The negative applies to both clauses: 'let not such grief gnaw silently at your heart, nor let me ofttimes hear from those sweet lips the burden of dull care.' **edit** (from *edim*), old form of subjunctive, analogous to *sim*.

810, 811. **nec tu videres**, *ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἂν ἴδως*, 'else you would not see me;'

the protasis (*nisi haec ita essent*) being suppressed. *digna indigna*, 'every kind of wrong;' like *dicenda tacenda*, *ῥητὰ καὶ ἀρρητὰ*, etc. *sub ipsa acie*, 'close to the very lines.'

813, 814. *succurrere suasi*, for the unusual construction see note on x. 9.

817. 'Sole cause of awe assigned to heavenly gods.' *superstitio* = 'object of awe,' just as *religio* is used = an object of religious dread. *reddita*, 'appointed,' as iii. 333 *regnorum reddita cessit Pars Heleno*.

820. *tuorum*: the Latin kings traced their descent to Saturn, father of Jupiter; see vii. 48.

823 sqq. Virgil ingeniously reconciles the importance which he has throughout assigned to the Trojan element in the origin of Rome with the fact that in the Augustan age there were so few traces of this element in language, dress, or names:

'Nor garb, nor language let them change
For foreign speech and vesture strange,
But still abide the same;
Let Latium prosper as she will,
Their themes let Alban monarchs fill;
Let Rome be glorious on the earth,
The centre of Italian worth;
But fallen Troy be fallen still,
The city and the name' (Con.).

829. *repertor*, 'creator.'

830. 'Thou art indeed Jove's sister, Saturn's other child! so vast the waves of wrath that surge within that breast.'

835-837. *commixti*, etc., 'the Trojans, mingled with the Latins in body only, shall sink to the bottom,' i.e. shall hold the lowest place. *corpore*, 'body' or 'blood,' as opposed to *nomen*. *morem ritusque sacrorum*, 'manner and usage of sacred rites.' *adificiam*, i.e. I will add Trojan rites to the Latin. *uno ore*, 'of one speech.'

844. *fratris dimittere ab armis*, a variety, as Con. points out, for the ordinary phrase *ab armis dimittere* = 'to disband.'

845, 846. *pestes*, 'fiends.' *Dirae*, a name for the Furies, as being a personification of the avenging 'curses' that await on crime: it answers to the Greek *Ἀραι* (*Ἀραι δ' ἐν οἴκοις γῆς ὑπαὶ κεκλήμεθα* Aesch. Eum. 417). The two Furies unnamed here are of course Allecto and Tisiphone. *Nox intempesta*, 'dismal Night,' an old epithet expressing the dead of night, when no work could be done; lit. 'unseasonable.'

850-852. *apparent*, 'wait;' a technical term for the attendance of a servant: hence public servants such as lictors, etc., were called *apparitores*. *molitur*, 'prepares;' see note to l. 327 above.

854. *in omen*, 'as an omen.'

857-859. *felle veneni*, 'poisonous gall;' cp. *herba veneni* Eccl. iv. 7

celerēs umbras, 'the swift shadows,' a bold instance of the transference of epithets, **celerēs** denoting the quality of the arrow. **incognita**, 'unforeseen.'

862-864. 'Shrinking suddenly to the shape of a puny bird, that oftentimes perched by night on tombs or lonely roof-tops sounds late into the darkness its ill-omened note.' **subitam**, adverbial. **importuna**, lit. 'inconvenient' (the opposite of *opportunus*), and so 'ill-omened,' as G. i. 470 *obsceatque canes importunaque volucres*.

869. **stridorem et alas**, 'whirring wings' (hendiadys).

870. **scindit solutos** = *solvit et scindit*.

871. **soror**, emphatic, 'with a sister's passion.'

873. **duræ**, 'hard-hearted.' Juturna reproaches herself for the immortality which obliges her to forsake and survive her brother (Kenn.).

879-881. 'Why (**quo**, to what end?) gave he me immortality? Why was the law of death abolished? Else could I at this very moment end all my sorrow, and pass to the shades with my ill-fated brother.'

882. **meorum**, neuter; 'can aught I have give pleasure without thee.'

883. **erit**, see Introd. p. xvii. **o quæ satis**, 'would that the earth might yawn deep enough,' etc., lit. 'what earth could yawn,' etc.

885. **glauco**, the dress of river-gods is bluish-grey, as representing the colour of their waters.

887, 888. **contra**, sc. *Turnum*. **ingens**, accus. neut.; not (as Servius) nom. masc. **arboresum**, 'like a tree;' cp. *teio trabali* l. 294.

889. 'What now the next delay? Why, Turnus, now draw back?'

891, 892. **facies**, 'shapes.' **contrahe**, etc., 'muster all your skill and all your courage.'

896. **circumspicit**, 'looks round and sees.'

898. 'Set for a boundary in the field, to settle disputes about (lit. for) the land.' Virgil in this passage is following partly Il. xxi. 405 sqq., where Athene hurls at Ares a huge stone, *Τὸν β' ἄνδρες πρότεροι θέσαν ἔμμενας οἶνον ἀπορῆς*: partly Il. xii. 445 sqq., where Hector brandishes a stone that two mortals of a later day could hardly lift on to a waggon.

901, 902. **ille** . . . **heros**, see on x. 198, and cp. Il. v. 308 *αὐτὰρ ὁ γ' ἥρως ἔστη γυνεὶ ἐπιπῶν*. **torquebat**, 'tried to hurl.' **cursu concitus**, 'running at speed,' to give impetus to the throw.

903, 904. 'But he knew not his old self as he moved, or ran, or raised his arm, or flung the monstrous stone.' For **se cognoscit** cp. Lucr. vi. 1214 *Atque etiam quosdam cepere oblivia rerum Cunctarum, neque se possent cognoscere ut ipsi*.

906, 907. 'Then the hero's stone likewise (**ipse**, i.e. in its turn), as through void air it spun, reached not the measure of its cast nor carried home its blow.' **inane**, the Lucretian term for the 'void' in which atoms come together, is here used loosely for the air, as once by Lucretius himself (ii. 116) of the air in which the motes in a sunbeam move about.

908-914. 'And as in dreams, where drowsy rest has sealed the eyes at

night, we seem to try in vain to ply our eager course, and sink back helpless in mid effort; dumb is the tongue, in every limb the wonted powers fail; no sound or word comes forth: e'en so from Turnus, wheresoe'er his valour sought a way, the Fury withheld success.' The hint of this simile is from Il. xxii. 199 sqq. *ὥς δ' ἐν δνέρεφ' οὐ δύναται φεύγοντα διώκειν*, etc.: the language and rhythm recall Lucretius, iv. 453 sqq. *Denique cum suavi devinxit membra sopore Somnus, et in summa corpus iacet omne quiete, Tum vigilare tamen nobis et membra movere Nostra videmur. extendere*, lit. 'stretch out.' *corpore*, local ablative. *sensus*, 'feelings.'

920. *sortitus fortunam oculis*, 'choosing his opportunity with his eye;' cp. xi. 761 *quae sit fortuna facillima, temptat. corpore toto*, 'with all his strength.'

924, 925. *murali*, etc., 'less loud the roar of stones from battering engine cast, less loud the rattling thunder-peal.' *dissultant*, of the bursting sound.

924, 925. *oras*, the 'edge' or 'border.' *extremos orbes*, the 'outer edges' of the 'circular layers' which, one upon another, formed the shield: this being the weakest part.

933. *cura*, 'regard for a parent.'

941, 942. *infelix*, 'fatal' or 'ill-omened;' see x. 495 sqq. for the story of the belt of Pallas. *cingula*, synonymous with *baleus*, is introduced for the sake of adding the further detail *notis bullis*.

947. *indute*, vocative for nominative, as ii. 283 *quibus Hector ab oris Exspectate venis*.

948. *eripiare*, dubitative subj.

949. *immolat*, 'as a victim required by justice' (Con.).

952. Repeated from xi. 831 (of Camilla). Servius explains *indignata* with reference to the fact that both Turnus and Camilla die young, and so prematurely: as e.g. the souls of infants are represented *stentes in limine primo* in the world below vi. 427, and the soul of Lausus quits his body *maesta* x. 820. So Homer, of the death of Patroclus (Il. xvi. 856), *Ψυχὴ δ' ἐκ βθέων πταμένη Ἀϊδόσδε βέβηκεν* 'Ὁν πότμον γόωσα, λιποῦσ' ἀδροτήτα καὶ ἤβην. But is not the idea in all these passages more general, that the soul is loath to quit light and life, and the 'warm precincts of the cheerful day'?

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